

## Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion

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# Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion

*By*

Lee Palmer Wandel



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## Preface

I am deeply grateful to Walter Melion for accepting this book into his series, which is the perfect home for it. This is neither a traditional art historical study nor a traditional intellectual history. Quite the contrary, it makes two arguments, one synthetic and one grounded in reading sixteenth-century codicil catechisms, neither of which can be made within the disciplinary boundaries constructed after the sixteenth century. The one argument draws on work that has been done in both disciplines: the history of the book, studies of literacy and of reading practices, studies of sixteenth-century iconoclasm, as well as studies of the many media—images, foremost—of late medieval Christianity. Drawing on that work, marked in the notes in the Introduction, this book argues that the sixteenth century witnessed a fundamental transformation in Christians' Catholic *and* Evangelical, conceptualization of the nature of knowledge of Christianity and the media through which that knowledge was articulated and communicated, from a shared sense that knowledge might come through visions, images, liturgy, nature, to, again, a shared sense, that knowledge of 'Christianity' began with texts printed on a page, that the experiences of the liturgy and, in some traditions, images, were now to be read through lenses learned in codicil catechisms: words were to frame experience.

The second argument at first glance may seem paradoxical: codicil catechisms sought to teach catechumens not simply to speak words, nor even simply to embody words—to dissolve the material distinction between codex and person. They sought to teach catechumens to see certain clusters of words as constellations of meaning—they sought to teach catechumens to see specific words together as texts. Texts were visual and visualized in sixteenth-century catechisms. The pages of catechisms, as the following seeks to make as visible as modern publication allows, were visual—they confound precisely that constructed modern bipolarity, word/image, or, conversely, that modern bipolarity utterly obscures what sixteenth-century catechisms sought to do.

## Acknowledgements

It is a great joy to acknowledge here something of the many kinds of generosity that made this book possible. Without the collection, over generations, of a genre that was and is ephemeral, designed to be used until the paper dissolves and the ink has faded, and the willingness to provide access to those fragile objects, to allow a scholar to place them side by side, to hold them, the discoveries of this book could not have occurred. Foremost among those collections has been the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, which houses one of the finest collections for the study of the Reformation in the world, including a singularly rich collection of sixteenth-century catechisms. I am therefore particularly grateful to its Directors, Drs. Helmut Gier and Reinhard Laube, and the staffs of the reading room, circulation, and reproduction for their extraordinary generosity over years. They have made research a joy. In addition, they have made possible the visual argument of this book: the great majority of images for this study come from their splendid collection.

The Museum Plantin-Moretus helped me to understand printing better; in its reading room, Dr. Dirk Imhof helped me to learn much about Christopher Plantin's beautiful productions and gave permission to photograph a number of publications, in particular the catechism, written by Peter Canisius, that Plantin published with engravings by Pieter Van der Borcht. The Germanisches Nationalmuseum Bibliothek treated me royally and provided the images of one of the oldest surviving exemplars of Luther's *Enchiridion*. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the StudienBibliothek Dillingen Donau, the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, the Universitätsbibliothek Universiteit van Amsterdam, the Universitätsbibliothek Universiteit Utrecht, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, and the Newberry Library all permitted me to examine the catechisms in their collections, some very fragile indeed. So, too, I am grateful to the Maughan Library of King's College, the Library of the Warburg Institute, and the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, whose wonderful collections of secondary literature enriched this study immeasurably.

My home library, Memorial Library of the University of Wisconsin, has been all that a research scholar could hope. The staffs of Special Collections, Interlibrary Loan, and Circulation gave of their time and their expertise, over years, cheerfully and readily.

This book was completed in perhaps the hardest year in the history of the University of Wisconsin. It is an especially bittersweet joy to acknowledge here its abiding generosity, over years, in supporting research and writing. Travel to

collections and the digitalization of some two dozen catechisms were made possible through the generosity of the University of Wisconsin—Madison Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Education with funding from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, foremost a Kellett Mid-Career Award, as well as in the form of summer research support. A Senior Fellowship at the Institute for Research in the Humanities at the University of Wisconsin offered a wonderful community to think about media and religion, even as it also offered me the time and space to write.

So, too, older conversations with a smaller circle of friends have enriched my understanding and sharpened analysis. Bob Sack has read all the chapters, asked hard questions, and nurtured ideas. Rolf and Christa Kiessling have helped me to understand lived religion of the past—through all our wonderful excursions, through references, through late night conversations. Christa has helped me to understand catechesis in ways large and small. Erin Lambert read all the chapters, asked the sort of penetrating questions I have come to expect from her, and furthered my thinking in important ways.

It is a particular joy to acknowledge here Walter Melion, who, as I continue to think of it, gave this book a home in his series. As an editor, Walter has been ideal: his choice of readers for the manuscript was inspired—their readings, quite distinctive, strengthened the book and deepened its arguments. I am very grateful to them and to him for all the ways they have made this a better book. As a friend, Walter has been something more, a source of the most complete joy of discovery and wonder.

Finally, let me formally acknowledge not so much what tms has given—which ranges from laughter to food to tough questions and reading every chapter what he tells me has been dozens of times—as that he has made it possible for me to write, to think, and to explore.

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- 78 *Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben / // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), Cii<sup>v</sup>–Ciii 234
- 79 John Calvin, *LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 108–9 239

- 80 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 40–41 241
- 81 John Calvin, LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 110–11 243
- 82 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterrichts // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 44–45 247
- 83 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 50–51 248
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- 85 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 252
- 86 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 42–43 254
- 87 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 255
- 88 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 46–47 262
- 89 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 264
- 90 John Calvin, LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 122–23 266
- 91 Johannes Meckhart, CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ=//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Aiii<sup>v</sup>–Aiiii 277
- 92 Peter Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM, in Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte instituendae ...// ACCESSIT IN HAC

- //editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum, autore D. PE=//  
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- 93 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel /  
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- 94 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS  
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- 95 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS  
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1589), 25 284
- 98 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS  
CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin,  
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- 99 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS  
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- 100 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ // PIETATIS // SEV  
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- 101 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS  
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- 103 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS  
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1589), 85 291
- 104 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel /  
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Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p. 296
- 105 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel /  
kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst (Strasbourg:  
Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p. 297

- 106 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel /  
kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst (Strasbourg:  
Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p. 297
- 107 Martin Luther, Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine  
Pfarher vnd Predigerr / Gemehret vnd gebessert, durch Mart. Luther  
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- 108 Martin Luther, Deusch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 109 Martin Luther, Deusch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer newen  
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Georg Rhaw, 1532), IX<sup>v</sup>–X 301
- 110 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 302
- 111 Martin Luther, Deusch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 112 Martin Luther, Deusch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer newen  
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Rhaw, 1532), XXI<sup>v</sup>–XXII 304
- 113 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 305
- 114 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere  
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- 115 Martin Luther, Deusch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
LXVIII<sup>v</sup>–LXIX 308
- 116 Martin Luther, Deusch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer newen  
Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht (Wittenberg: Georg  
Rhaw, 1532), LXXIII<sup>v</sup>–LXXIII 308
- 117 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 309
- 118 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere  
/ // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke  
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- 119 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere  
// für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstucke // verfasst (Augsburg:  
Valentin Othmar, 1547), Jiii<sup>v</sup>–Jv 311
- 120 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 312
- 121 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere  
/ // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke  
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- 122 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 123 Martin Luther, Deudsch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer newen  
Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht (Wittenberg: Georg  
Rhaw, 1532), LXXVIII<sup>v</sup>–LXIX 315
- 124 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 316
- 125 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 126 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 127 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere  
// für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstücke // verfasst (Augsburg:  
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- 128 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
XCVI<sup>v</sup>–XCVII 318
- 129 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 130 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 321
- 131 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 132 Martin Luther, Enchiridion (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. 322
- 133 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere  
// d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke  
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- 134 Martin Luther, Deudsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede /  
//vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531),  
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- 135 Johannes Nas, Handbuechlein // Des klein Christia=//nismi / vom  
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tens / kurtz vnd guot / // leicht vnd nutz=//lich (Ingolstadt:  
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- 136 Johannes Nas, Handbuechlein // Des klein Christia=//nismi / vom  
rechten // Glauben / thuon vnd las=//sen / hoffen vnnd foerch=//



- tens / kurtz vnd guot / // leicht vnd nutz=//lich (Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1570), obverse of title page 329
- 137 Jaspar von Gennep, *Catholischer // Spangēbergi=//scher// Catechismus, // Für die jungen Christen. Auß der // Heiliger Schrifft / vnd aeltesten Kir=//chen Lehrern / so vor Tausent // Jaren gelebt / in Frage-//stuck verfasst* (Cologne: Gaspar Jennepe, 1561), xlv 330
- 138 Peter Canisius, *CATECHISMVS.// Kurtze Erclae=//rung der fürnemsten stuck//des wahren Catholischen // Glaubens. Auch rechte vnd Catholi=//sche form zu betten.//Alles von newem mit fleiß gebessert // vnd gemehret* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1563), Dvii<sup>v</sup>–Dviii 332
- 139 Peter Canisius, *CATECHISMVS.// Kurtze Erclae=//rung der fürnemsten stuck//des wahren Catholischen // Glaubens. Auch rechte vnd Catholi=//sche form zu betten.//Alles von newem mit fleiß gebessert // vnd gemehret* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1563), Fvii<sup>v</sup>–Fviii 333
- 140 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), December + p. 1 335
- 141 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 12–13 338
- 142 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 18–19 339
- 143 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 22–23 340
- 144 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 24–25 341
- 145 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 38–39 343
- 146 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 40–41 343
- 147 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 46–47 344

- 148 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV  
// PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes  
Bellerus, 1575), 50–51 345
- 149 Martin Luther, Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus fur die gemeine  
Pfarher vnd Predigerr / Gemehret vnd gebessert, durch Mart. Luther  
(Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1529), n.p. 348

## Note on Translation and Citation

All English translations of Luther's *Enchiridion* and *German Catechism* are from Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Minneapolis, 2000). All English translations of the Heidelberg Catechism are from Mark A. Noll, ed., *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation* (Grand Rapids, 1991). Unless otherwise noted, all other translations are my own. For the text of the Genevan Catechism, I have relied upon the modern edition, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève", Olivier Fatio, ed. *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée* (Geneva, 2005 (1986)), 25–110. Given the deep familiarity of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments to millions of contemporary Christians, some of these translations may well jar.

Over time, wording and spelling have become more uniform. They were not in the sixteenth century. In translating, I have sought to adhere as closely as possible to the word choices and syntax of the authors, in order to capture something of the differences in tone and style of the different catechisms. I have consulted sixteenth-century English translations, such as the *Certainne necessary Principles of Religion, which may be entituled, A Catechisme conteyning all the partes of the Christian and Catholique Fayth. Written in Latin by P. Canisius, one of the holy societie of the Iesuites, and nowe amplified and Englished by T. I.*, an undated translation of Canisius's *Parvus Catechismus*. As the title makes so wonderfully evident, sixteenth-century translators felt free to add words, clauses, even entire sentences to make the meaning they had found more explicit for their readers.

While many surviving catechisms contain some indication on their title pages and/or end papers of authorship, place of publication, publisher, and date, a substantial number do not. Where a bibliographer has indicated a likely attribution, I have included that information in brackets. In a few instances, I have found those attributions erroneous and addressed it in the notes. Where a printer's name is established, I have used a single regularized form.

# DE PVERIS

INSTITVENDIS ECCLE<sup>æ</sup>

*sic Argentinensis*

Isagoge.



FIGURE 1 *DE PVERIS // INSTITVENDIS ECCLE=//sic Argentinensis // Isagoge* (Strasbourg: n.p., 1527), title page. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

# Introduction

It is a small, slender object.<sup>1</sup> It fits in a hand, more or less comfortably, depending upon the size of the hand. It has a certain heft, weight, shape. It is some sixty pages in length and somewhere between three and four inches wide and six to seven inches high, were it to stand on a shelf. But it was never intended for a shelf. It was always intended for the hand.

In the space where publishers usually placed titles are the words, *De pueris instituendis ecclesiae Argentinensis Isagoge* (Fig. 1). The spaces reserved for author's name, editor's name, translator's name, and publisher's name are all empty.<sup>2</sup> No names other than those found in a Bible—God, Christ, Paul, Hosea, Lazarus, Matthew—can be found on any page. Only on the last page, at the very end of the text, did the publisher provide information on place and date of publication: Strasbourg, in the year 1527, in the month of August.<sup>3</sup>

It is at once a single object and one of many. A single text, printed perhaps 250, perhaps 500, though probably not 1000 times—not knowing the publisher, we cannot know the print run—became a 'they', a multitude of like objects that could travel. Less than ten copies of this one survive; some have pages missing, some, their cover torn, most, stained, by water, salt, mold. And they have wandered far: the Netherlands, Saxony, Bavaria, Switzerland.<sup>4</sup> How they wandered, and when, we do not know. But the signs of physical wear suggest they traveled unprotected, like the hand that was to hold them, exposed to the elements, to cold and damp, to dark places, rivers.

Whose hands? The title's first words, "on the education of boys", evoke a context not of rivers or rain, but of schools and enclosed spaces. Erasmus far more famously took up those words two years later for the title of a best-seller on the formal instruction of boys in Latin.<sup>5</sup> 'Education' was not uniform in 1527.<sup>6</sup>

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1 DE PVERIS // INSTITVENDIS ECCLE-//siæ Argentinensis // Isagoge (Strasbourg: n.p., 1527).

2 On the paratexts that accompany modern texts—peritext, author's name, title, 'please-inserts', dedications, epigraphs, prefaces and prefacing, notes, and epitexts—see Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris: Seuil, 1987).

3 "ARGENTORATI ANNO M. D. XXVII MENSE AVGVSTO," DE PVERIS // INSTITVENDIS ECCLE-//siæ Argentinensis // Isagoge, 31.

4 WorldCat lists copies in libraries in Augsburg, Munich, Utrecht, Dresden, and Zurich.

5 Desiderius Erasmus, "De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis," edited Jean-Claude Margolin, in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* 1, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1971), 1–78.

6 Lawrence Stone, ed., *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore, 1976); Paul Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: literacy and learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1989); Paul F. Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca, NY,

In 1527, a wealthy parent might hire a tutor, as Michel de Montaigne's father would do, to teach his son first a mastery of the Latin language, then an intimate familiarity with classical Latin texts. A parent of less means might send his son to a Latin teacher, as Huldrych Zwingli's father had done, where he, too, acquired a mastery of Latin, an intimate familiarity with its vocabulary, syntax, rhetorical models, styles. In the 1520s, a parent might also send his son to a Latin school. Each was anchored to a particular place, enclosed, and grounded in a hierarchy, a teacher or tutor instructing the young, who were seated, themselves situated. In each, an adult male—tutor, humanist, cleric—was authorized to teach a boy. The intended hands for this particular text were young and adult. No text of its kind from this period specified a female instructor. The hands for the *Isagoge* were both explicitly, boys, and implicitly, instructor, male. The text might be passed back and forth, but multiple printed copies made far easier, that each, adult and boy, held his own copy in his hand, that copy fitting large hands and small differently.

The remaining words, each familiar in its own way, appearing together in the space, may have puzzled a reader in 1527. The two in the middle, “ecclesiae” and “Argentiniensis”, locate the instruction of the boys in a way that would become familiar in the sixteenth century: “of the church of Strasbourg”. In 1527, a handful of places had rejected the jurisdiction of Rome, had rejected, therefore, Rome's particular notion of ‘the Church’, and had, as in the case of Strasbourg, through civil law, instituted a Church named for the place, hence, “the Church of Strasbourg”, not a building, but a human community, differentiated from all other communities by its practice of Christianity. Following that reordering of jurisdiction, the instruction of boys took place not in ‘a church’ or ‘a school’, but in a particular ecclesiological jurisdiction, “the Church of Strasbourg”.

This term, like so much about this object, was transient. An artifact of the fluidity of categories that the Reformation sought to stabilize, these two words of the title testify to a time, when “the Church of Strasbourg” named a living community of particular practices and beliefs. By the end of the sixteenth century, “the Church of Strasbourg” had disappeared into ‘the Lutheran Church’, perhaps more a political alliance against a most powerful opponent, the Holy

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1993). On the establishment of Church schools, see, foremost, Georg Mertz, *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1902); and Karin Maag, *Seminary or university?: the Genevan Academy and reformed higher education, 1560–1620* (Brookfield, VT, 1995).

Roman Emperor, than a shared understanding of liturgy and the Christian life—but that question lies beyond this study.<sup>7</sup>

The last word, “Isagoge”, had originally been the name given to Porphyry’s third-century Introduction to Aristotle’s *Categories*, which, when Boethius translated it into Latin in the sixth century, became a fundamental text, a ‘textbook’, in the curriculum of ‘logic’ in medieval universities.<sup>8</sup> The word here marks a kind of drift, from that specific connotation to a broader, less precise label for a genre—there is no Aristotle behind this first page.<sup>9</sup> Still, it would have been a strange word, connected as it is here with boys and church. ‘Boys’, by definition, did not yet attend university; indeed, the instruction in Latin the first words of the title invoked necessarily preceded any introduction to logic. And why would boys require an ‘introduction’ to ‘the Church’, which, in 1527 structured both time and space in Europe?

If the title page was singular, turning the page revealed more of the object’s novelty (Fig. 2).<sup>10</sup> The first page of text tells its reader that it is a colloquy between a parent or preceptor and son or boy. Many, many texts in the sixteenth century designated their readers through a description at the beginning of the text itself, more often through a preface or on the title page itself. This text did something more: calling itself a colloquy, it invited a particular way to read—not simply aloud, but with multiple voices. And throughout the text, passages were differentiated not spatially, but, as we can see here, by two signs, “P.” for *parens*, as the first line indicates, and “F.” for *filius*, son, embedded

7 On the Reformation in Strasbourg, see foremost, Miriam Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform; a study in the process of change* (New Haven, 1967); Thomas A. Brady, *Ruling class, regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520–1555* (Leiden, 1978); Marc Lienhard and Jakob Willer, *Strassburg und die Reformation*, 2nd edition (Kehl, 1982); Lorna Jane Abray, *The people’s Reformation: magistrates, clergy, and commons in Strasbourg, 1500–1598* (Ithaca, NY, 1985).

8 Porphyry’s *Isagoge* continued to be published. See, for example, PORPHYRII // PHOENICIS ISAGOGE, ID // EST, INTRODUCTIO // IN DIALECTICEN. // ITEM // Aristotelis Stagiri-// TAE PRINCIPIS PHILOSOPHICORUM OPERA OMNIA, QVAE // PERTINENT AD INVENTIONEM ET // IUDICATIONEM DIALECTICAE (Louvain: Servatus Saftenus, 1547). Glarean published DE RATIONE SYLLABARVM BREVIS // Isagoge (Freiburg, 1530).

9 It appears at least once more on a codex of religious instruction, Johannes Vossius Alburgensis, AD ANTIQUAM QVAM RELIGIONEM, uereq; Christianam brevis Isagoge, in qua // praecipua Christianae professionis capita, in usum // Herderuicena iuuentutis, sunt pertractata (Cologne: Gymnici, 1544).

10 DE PVERIS // INSTITVENDIS ECCLESIAE ARGENTINENSIS // Isagoge (Strasbourg: n.p., 1527), A2.



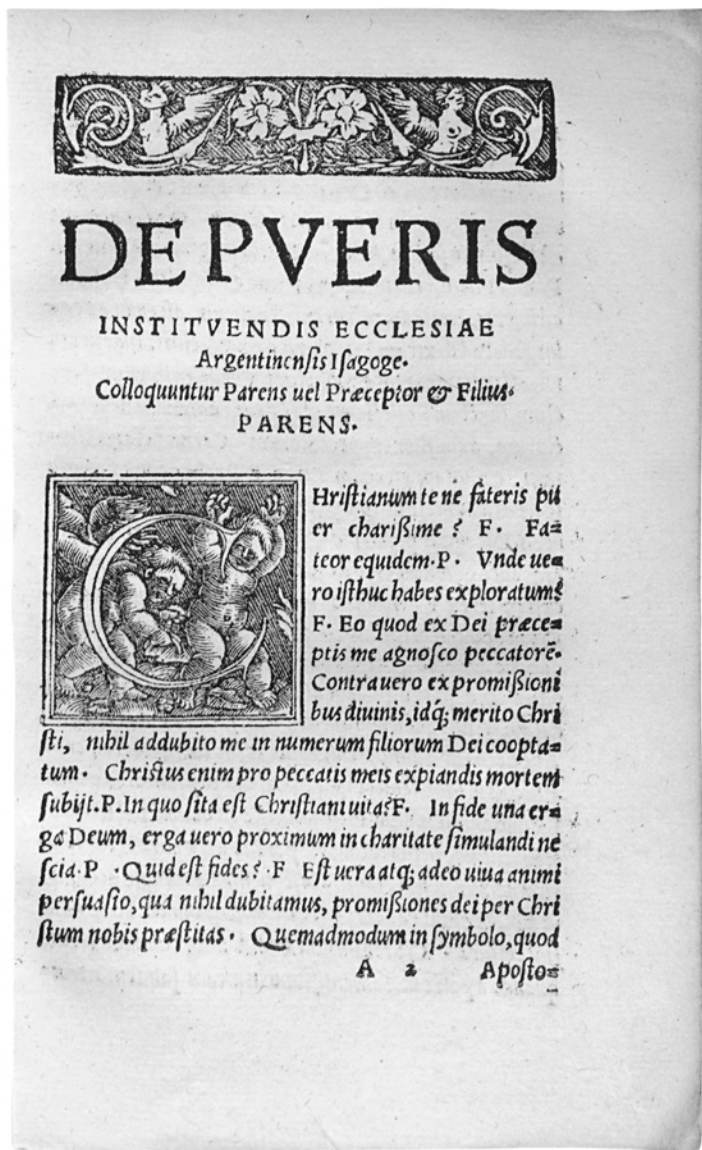


FIGURE 2 DE PVERIS // INSTITVENDIS ECCLE=//sic Argentincnsis // Isagoge (Strasbourg: n.p., 1527), first page of text. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



in the page. Two voices. Parent and son were not severally to read marks on a page. Parent and son were to read them alternately, to read them aloud that the other might hear the prompt on the page, to give them sound, to bring lungs, mouth, lips, and ears to bear on the page—to make their own bodies the living medium of the text.

Those small initials, those signs, “P” and “F”, throughout the text, the designation of voices returned the text again and again to familial relations, ‘son’. In calling for parent and child, this object posits that instruction might take place in the home and that a parent, by definition laity, was to provide one of two voices as marked by the text, in the instruction of boys. This alone was not unusual. But the subject of instruction in this object was not a kind of knowledge typically entrusted to laity to teach.

“Parent” opens with the question: “Do you not confess Christianity, most beloved boy?” And the boy answers, “I do indeed confess”.<sup>11</sup> The parent was to help the son to master knowledge of ‘Christianity’. Nor was “P.” simply to teach the rote memorization of those texts that in the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas held all Christians, ideally, should know: the Creed and the Sacraments; the Ten Commandments and the Primary Command of Love; the Lord’s Prayer; and the Ave Maria.<sup>12</sup> “P.” led “F.” through detailed explanations of the meaning of phrases and sentences from the Apostles’ Creed (folios 1–26),

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11 Ferdinand Cohrs, in his magisterial study, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, argues that this Latin text is the original of Wolfgang Capito’s German *Kinderbericht und Fragestücke*, based upon a comparison of the two texts. The titles are not identical, as Cohrs acknowledges. The German text, as Cohrs does not acknowledge, does not specify a parent (no particular speaker is specified at all), and, most significantly, the opening question differs in its formulation. In the Latin, the parent asks, “Christianum te ne fateris puer charissime?” In the German, there is the ‘Frag’: “Liebs kindt, bistu auch ein Christ?” The one asks the boy to ‘confess’, a verbal act requiring some knowledge of doctrine; the other asks after an identity which, many texts stated, was established with baptism, infant baptism, in which the child was not required to know anything. There are differences throughout—in length of exposition, in excurses—which suggest an affinity, but not an identity between the two texts. Ferdinand Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 2: *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche aus den Jahren 1527–1528* (Berlin, 1900), 85–201; for the two texts’ openings, see 100. F. Hubert also posits this authorship, “Strassburger Katechismen aus den Tagen der Reformation (Capito, Butzer, Zell: die Laienbibel),” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 20 (1900): 395–413, at 395.

12 *The Catechetical Instructions of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Joseph B. Collins (Baltimore, 1939) (@ The Catholic Primer). See also A. Läßle, *Kleine Geschichte der Katechese* (Munich, 1981), 81–82.

which included excurses on baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's Prayer (folios 27–32).

Nearly lost to us, the Strasbourg *Isagoge* is a material trace of a transformation now difficult to discern, so fundamental has it been.<sup>13</sup> There on the first page we glimpse the beginnings: that invitation to the laity to make their bodies the medium of the printed text.<sup>14</sup> It is captured in the most recent translation of Martin Luther's Preface to *The German Catechism* in the *Book of Concord* for American Lutherans:

This sermon has been designed and undertaken for the instruction of children and the uneducated. Hence from ancient times it has been called, in Greek, a “catechism”—that is, instruction for children. It contains what every Christian should know. Anyone who does not know it should not be numbered among Christians nor admitted to any sacrament, just as artisans who do not know the rules and practices of their craft are rejected and considered incompetent. For this reason young people should be thoroughly taught the parts of the catechism (that is, instruction for children) and diligently drilled in their practice.<sup>15</sup>

The German text, according to the Weimar Ausgabe, differs slightly, but significantly:

Diese predigt ist dazu geordnet und angefangen, das es sey ein unterricht fur die kinder und einfeltigen. Darumb sie auch von alters her auff

13 Carlo Ginzburg, Introduction, *Threads and Traces: True False Fictive*, trans. Anne and John Tedeschi (Berkeley, 2012), 1–6.

14 “Aber ein Buch, welches in der ‘Form von Frage und Antwort die kurze Summe des christlichen Glaubens, Lebens und Wesens’ enthält, verstand man im Mittelalter unter Katechismus niemals”, Peter Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfall des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempten, 1880), 7; “Der Katechismus in Buchform, der die Grundzüge der christlichen Lehre in Hauptstücke zusammenfasst und mit Erläuterungen für die Glaubensunterweisung den Laien darbietet, kommt nach einzelnen Vorformen erst in in der Reformationszeit auf,” Gertrud Schiller, *Ikographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 4,1: Die Kirche (Gütersloh 1976), 117.

15 Martin Luther, “The Large Catechism,” in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 383. Although *The Book of Concord* uses the name that has become common for this catechism, Luther himself called it *The German Catechism* [*Deudsch Catechismus*], the name, therefore, that this study will use, “Besondere Einleitung in den sogenannten Großen Katechismus,” *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Vol. 30, 1 (Weimar, 1910) [Hereafter WA 30,1], 477.

Griegisch heisset Catechismus, das ist ein kinderlere, so ein yglicher Christ zur not wissen sol, also das wer solchs nicht weis, nicht künde unter die Christen gezelet und zu keinem Sacrament zugelassen werden. Gleich wie man einen handwercks mans, der seines handwercks recht und gebrauch nicht weis, aus wirffet und fur untüchtig helt. Der halten sol man iunge leute die stücke, so ynn den Catechismum odder kinder predigt gehören, wol und fertig lernen lassen und mit vleis darynne uben und treiben.

Martin Luther, Vorrhede, *Deusch Catechismus* . . . 1529<sup>16</sup>

The word, “contains”, does not appear in Luther’s German. A small choice, reflecting what the catechism had become. Luther still allowed for preaching to teach the young—his published *Catechism* was a “predigt”, a sermon. So intimate has the codex become to Christian education that the translators can be forgiven for eliding what was and remains an essential medial difference, between codex and sermon. And they capture fully Luther’s explicit intent: that the texts printed on the pages of, “contained” in, a codex were for him—and became for Christians around the globe—“what every Christian should know”.

The codex catechism both set forth and materialized particular conceptualizations of the nature of ‘knowledge’ of Christianity and of the relationship between the knowledge of texts and Christian identity.<sup>17</sup> In the preface that precedes this one, Luther rejected explicitly an older understanding of what it meant to be a Christian. He rejected implicitly any simple legal definition and set forth a body of texts that were to inform a person, a ‘knowledge’ that, in learning to speak them aloud, made a person a ‘Christian’. His catechism was to do far more than simply teach a body of texts. It defined and encompassed what it meant to be a Christian. If the modern translators saw the codex as

16 Vorrhede, “Deusch Catechismus. (Der Große Katechismus). 1529.” WA 30,1, 129.

17 At the center of this book is the argument that what it meant to be a Christian—‘Christian identity’—changed in the sixteenth century: not simply the definition of ‘Christian’, but the nature and the form of the knowledge that being Christian entailed, as well as the relationship between ‘knowledge’ and Christian identity. Thus, ‘identity’ as an analytic term will itself change in its referents, crudely put, from a social and legal category given in a ritual shortly after birth to something at once individual and collective acquired through formal education, at the center of which was the codex. So, too, this book is arguing that what constituted ‘knowledge’ for a Christian changed, from something one learned over a lifetime—through acts, images, architecture, song, sound, sight, smell, and touch—to something read and spoken. ‘Knowledge’ became more narrowly discursive, rather than experiential.

“containing” what every Christian should “know”—through practice, repetition, embodiment and intelligence—in 1529 Martin Luther named a new relationship among codex, knowledge, Christianity, and person.

“contain” and “know”.<sup>18</sup> We can discern the distance between medieval Christendom and modern Christianity, if we simply pause and ask: How can a thing, a printed object, contain what a person needs to know, in order to, in the words of the sixteenth century, “be Christian”? Why *should* that particular kind of knowledge—of specific words printed in specific order on pages of paper—be that which defines religious identity?

Sixteenth-century authors of catechisms took up the ancient form of the codex, which had indeed been used for catechetical texts for centuries, for a practice a number of them also held to be rooted in the Gospels and the Mediterranean of early Christianity.<sup>19</sup> Many, like Luther, at the same time linked the word “catechesis” to the instruction of children. But catechesis, a process in which one person authorized by the Church to teach, a *catechist*, instructed those seeking to learn, *catechumens*, had changed dramatically over a millennium.<sup>20</sup> In the earliest centuries of Christianity, catechesis prepared adults for baptism.<sup>21</sup> It was, in other words, conducted between adults, from an

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18 In the Introduction, I continue to mark key words with quotation marks—which some readers may find intrusive or distracting. Those marks, however, are intended as a reminder that key terms were contested—Christian, foremost, but also Church, faith, true Christianity—and that categories shifted, most importantly ‘knowledge’ and the very notion that a codex could ‘contain’, rather than participate in, reflect, be epigrammatic of, instantiate, point towards, derive from, something much larger and medially more complex.

19 See, in addition to the definition Luther offers at the beginning of the Large Catechism, Philip Melancthon’s definition, *Catechismus Das ist/ ein Kinderlehr* (Leipzig, 1544).

20 For a general history of catechesis, see, in addition to Göbl and Läßle, Robert Ulrich, *A History of Religious Education: Documents and Interpretations from the Judeo-Christian Tradition* (New York, 1968). A number of reference works provide a synopsis of the history; the most helpful of those is *The New Schaff Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. II, 440–42: [http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/encyco2/Page\\_440.html](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/encyco2/Page_440.html).

On catechesis in the Iberian peninsula, see María-Graciela Crespo, *Estudio Histórico-teológico de la “Doctrina Cristiana para Instrucción e Información de los Indios por Manera de Historia,” de Fray Pedro de Córdoba, O.P. (†1521)* (Pamplona, 1988), Ch. I. On catechisms in the Netherlands, see W. Heitling, *De catechism en confessions in de Nedeerlandse Reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols (Nieuwkoop, 1989); for a summary of the form and content of the catechisms, see I, Part III, Ch.2; for facsimiles of title pages, see vol. II.

21 Bonaventura Parodi, *La catechesis di Sant’ Ambrogio: Studia di pedagogia pastorale* (Genoa, 1957). Christoph Weismann makes this point with specific reference to the six-

adult who had been baptized, the catechist, to those wishing to be baptized, the catechumens.

In the early Church, catechesis led to baptism: it was the prerequisite for the sacrament of initiation into the body of believers. Belief was an adult phenomenon, a conscious choice, made after a process of education. Over time, as Christianity became the majority religion, the practice of infant baptism emerged; as that practice became normal, the relationship between Christianity and knowledge of any kind changed, and with it, catechesis. The person being baptized did not need to speak any words of Christian doctrine prior to becoming sacramentally, and then, legally, Christian. By 1500, baptism, and baptism alone, distinguished Christians legally from Jews; forced conversions, well into the sixteenth century, were forced baptisms, and no catechesis need precede those forced baptisms.

From the earliest conventicles through the medieval Church, instruction was oral, catechist, and aural, catechumen. Ambrose, for instance, preached homilies as a part of catechesis.<sup>22</sup> Nor was it simply that priests spoke the words aloud: the words of the Lord's Prayer and then, after the fourth century, the Apostles' Creed, and from the fourteenth century, the Ten Commandments were spoken aloud—the first two in the liturgy, the third in preparation for confession.<sup>23</sup> They were not 'texts' in that sense of words printed on a page, but sounds. They were, as the rubrics in *The Most Useful Table of the Christian Religion* visually remind the priest (Fig. 3),<sup>24</sup> a part of the sonic complexity of the Mass and of the praxis of the Christian life. Most Christians heard them as words rather than saw them as words.

For more than a millennium, Europeans acquired knowledge of Christianity over the course of their lives. That knowledge was visual, haptic, sonic, and olfactory.<sup>25</sup> Each baptized person (indeed all Europeans) grew up in a world

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teenth century, *Eine kleine Biblia: Die Katechismen von Luther und Brenz, Einführung und Texte* (Stuttgart, 1985), 13–18.

22 Parodi, *La catechesis di Sant' Ambrogio*.

23 The histories of prayer, creed, and commandments are treated more fully in their respective chapters.

24 Tabula christiane religi=//onis vtilissima. ([Augsburg][circa 1510]), Aii.

25 Cf. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990); and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998); Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge, 2000), 197–223; Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas Kablitz, and Alison Calhoun, eds., *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage, Fascinations, Frames* (Baltimore, 2008). For one effort to describe that



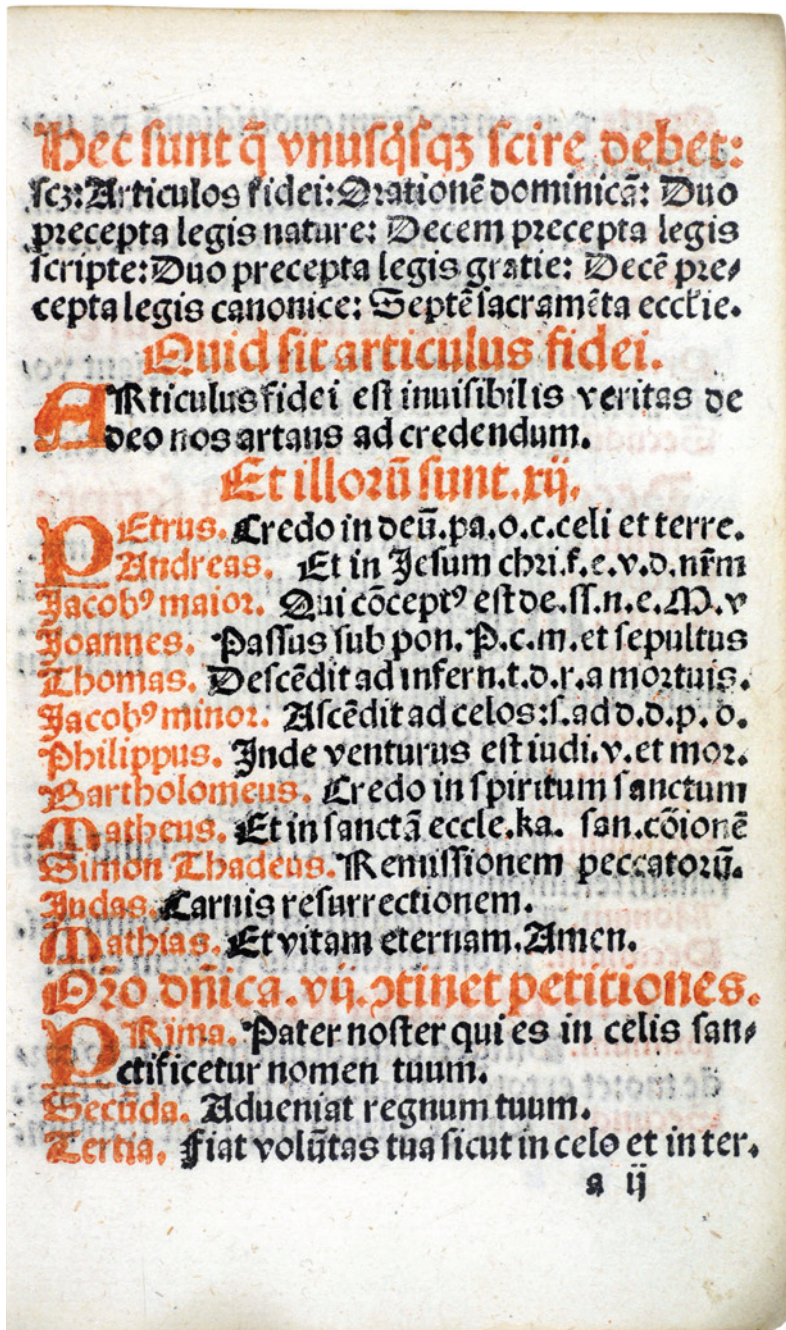


FIGURE 3 *Tabula christiane religi=//onis vtilissima. [Augsburg][circa 1510], Aii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

dense with Christian meaning: from the structuring of the day, week, season, and year according to the liturgy, to the inscription of all topography into parishes, dioceses, archdioceses, and 'Christendom'. The Gospel narratives of Jesus's life had provided medieval Christians with models for doing: preaching, itinerancy, poverty, 'otherworldliness'. Thousands over generations sought to enact, in the conduct of their lives, 'Christianity'. For them, it was a praxis, not a body of verbal texts.<sup>26</sup> Europeans lived and died among so many different material presences of Christianity: church structures large and small—cathedrals, parish churches, cloisters, chapels, altars—and representations of many different kinds: crucifixes at intersections of trade routes, on the belts of clergy, on the necks of devout laity and clergy; painted and sculpted and sketched and gilded images of Christ on buildings, in homes, along roads. The poorest rural church also housed an altar of some kind, a site for the Mass, a symbol of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Most churches also housed a multitude of other kinds of images: crucifixes, crosses, panel paintings, sculpted figures and retables. In 1500, it would have been impossible not to see Christ in all but the most remote places of Europe. This world offered a very different 'knowledge' of Christianity: as embodied in the persons of the religious; as the words, gestures, and vestments of many different rituals and performances; as represented in stone, wood, paint and gilding; as a way of living in both time and space.

Within this world, catechesis supplemented or improved, but neither initiated nor comprised knowledge. Within this world, no one claimed a 'catechism'—whether a fourteenth-century handbook for a friar<sup>27</sup> or the oral recitation of familiar texts—contained all that a Christian ought to know. One kind of knowledge, pursued in universities, encompassed texts, and

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culture in its fullness, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992), Part 1.

- 26 Jacques Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1960); R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1970); John Van Engen, "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 519–52; Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity* (New York, 2011), especially chapters 1 and 2.
- 27 Guiral Ot, *Catechismus Scolarium Novellorum* (1338), "seems to be a proper rhyme catechism adapted to the religious needs and mnemonic capacities of young adults", Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004), 247.

their glosses, commentaries, and compendia.<sup>28</sup> But there were other kinds of knowledge—of a Saint Francis, a Catherine of Genoa, Margery Kempe. In this world, catechesis was not, for anyone, essential, foundational, definitive. For theologians and friars, it was desirable, an ideal towards which the Church should strive. There is ample manuscript evidence of the effort to teach.<sup>29</sup> Parents and godparents were urged to instruct the children in their care in the words of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria;<sup>30</sup> a traditional requirement to be a godparent was the ability to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer on behalf of the infant at the font.<sup>31</sup> Parents were also urged to bring children into their parish churches for more formal instruction. Some did, but not all.

Medieval catechesis rested upon the heterogeneities of medieval Christendom.<sup>32</sup> The most transient of cultural media, sound, was its foundation. Lay ears were central to medieval catechesis: the great majority of Europeans could not read and received what we now think of as texts, therefore, aurally. Such evidence as we have for the practice of catechesis in medieval Europe comprises manuscripts of texts that were intended for the clergy to use. Some catechesis took the form of sermons, delivered during Lent, in preparation for the sacrament of confession, itself the canonically decreed preparation for receiving Communion.<sup>33</sup> Other evidence suggests a more familiar model: a priest or bishop, the catechist, led catechumens in the oral recitation of specific words. Manuals for priests such as the *The Most Useful Table of the Christian Religion* suggest that catechesis encompassed words spoken, heard,

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28 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1987).

29 Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther* (Leipzig, 1855); P. Eginio Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters* (Munich, 1965).

30 Weidenhiller, 12–14.

31 John Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom," in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame, 1991), 38.

32 The Council of Tortosa, for instance, sought to establish a uniform, brief catechism for the Iberian Peninsula in 1429, María-Graciela Crespo, *Estudio histórico-teológico de la "Doctrina Cristina,"* 10–11.

33 Aquinas, for example, offered some twenty-eight sermons on the Apostles' Creed, with an excursus on the sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria during Lent, probably in 1273, Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C., Introduction, *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed* (Notre Dame, 1988), 1–2.



repeated, and orally corrected.<sup>34</sup> Words were received as sound, repeated as sound until the lay person could reproduce sonically a sequence of words.

The great majority of Christians experienced as sound what would, in the sixteenth century, become ‘texts’—words fixed on a page. For more than a millennium prior to the sixteenth century, literacy was not a cultural imperative.<sup>35</sup> Most Europeans neither owned nor read a Bible; they heard Epistles and Gospel within the Mass, saw on the walls of their churches scenes from Old and New Testament rendered in tempera and stone. A number of lay devotional movements, perhaps most famously, the *Devotio moderna*, emphasized reading as a key to the pious life, but reading itself was not necessary to being a Christian.<sup>36</sup>

The ancient words existed in a fundamentally different relationship to Christianity. In medieval Christendom words were sung, chanted, spoken aloud or ‘silently’. For the great majority of Christians, from the time of Augustine to the sixteenth century, the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Ave Maria, Epistles, Gospel and Old Testament narratives were not ink on a page. They were sounds woven into the Mass, the Divine Office, sacraments, prayers, blessings. The Lord’s Prayer, as well as Epistles and Gospel, were parts of the Mass. The Lord’s Prayer and the Apostles’ Creed were

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34 Tabula christiane religi=//onis vtilissima ([Augsburg][circa 1510]).

35 As Michael Clanchy argued, ‘literacy’ is a deforming lens through which to approach medieval Europe, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 3rd ed. (Chichester, 2013). More helpful is Brian Stock’s notion of textual communities, *The Implications of Literacy*, which also informs this study. Equally important to this study has been Michael Camille’s fundamental reconceptualization of the relationship between images and texts, “Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy,” *Art History* 8(1985): 26–49; *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York, 1996). Camille directly and effectively challenged a long tradition of reading of Pope Gregory I’s letter to Bishop Serenus of Marseille as separating images from words as modes of knowledge. Lawrence G. Duggan has tracked the letter in medieval sources, “Was Art Really ‘The Book of the Illiterate?’” *Word and Image* 5(1989): 227–51, reproduced with corrections in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2005), 63–107. In the same volume, Duggan offered “Reflections on ‘Was Art Really ‘The Book of the Illiterate?’”,” 109–19. For a brilliant translation and reading of Gregory’s two letters, see Celia M. Chazelle, “Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I’s Letters to Serenus of Marseille,” *Word and Image* 6 (1990): 138–53.

36 On rising literacy and books of hours, see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c.1400–1600* (Cambridge, 2012).

embedded in the Divine Office as Benedict set it forth.<sup>37</sup> The Lord's Prayer might also be spoken in preparation, at home, before a meal, in crisis or in peace. They were not *seen* as words; they were *heard* as words.

In the thirteenth century, when Aquinas preached that Christians should know Creed, Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria,<sup>38</sup> it was an ideal, the hope and goal of bishops' instructions to their parish priests, of theologians, friars, mendicant preachers. But no text, singularly or in aggregate, was definitive of being "a Christian". Baptism was. Baptism, in the medieval Church, conferred the 'sign of faith', and 'faith' was that which bound all baptized together, that which they shared. It might be professed, but it encompassed acts and was strengthened through 'charity'.<sup>39</sup> 'Faith' was not exclusively verbal; indeed, it was conferred upon infants before they learned to speak, let alone read. Faith, the bond of all Christendom, according to medieval teaching, could be divided between explicit—that which the learned could articulate—and implicit, that which "the simple" received at baptism. The learned could teach "the simple" to speak the articles of faith, but this was a refinement of their Christian identity, not the definition of it.

Such manuals of instruction as survive show no consensus as to what should be taught.<sup>40</sup> A number, such as that of the Franciscan Marquard von Lindau (d. 1392), sought to teach the Ten Commandments, in preparation for the sacrament of confession.<sup>41</sup> Marquard wrote separately on the Apostles' Creed, a text which had less circulation.<sup>42</sup> Some sought to prepare communicants for the sacrament of Communion. Others sought to teach the seven deadly sins,

37 *The Rule of Saint Benedict: Latin & English*, trans. Luke Dysinger, O.S.B. (Valyermo, CA, 1996), 57.

38 It was also preached in Latin, *The Catechetical Instructions of Saint Thomas Aquinas*; Läßle, 81–82.

39 For this definition of 'faith', see Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order," 19–67, which offers a lucid and succinct analysis of medieval understandings of 'faith' and 'belief'.

40 See, for example, the texts collected in Weidenhiller, Part III. See also Dieter Harmening, "Katechismus Literatur: Grundlagen religiöser Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter," in *Wissensorganisierende und wissensvermittelnde Literatur im Mittelalter*, ed. Norbert Richard Wolf (Wiesbaden, 1987), 91–102.

41 On Marquard's catechetical work, see Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 247–9. For a discussion of early printed versions of *Die Zehe Gebot*, see Jacobus Willem van Maren, ed. and Introduction, *Marquard von Lindau: Die Zehe Gebot (Straßburg 1516 und 1520): Ein katechetischer Traktat* (Amsterdam, 1980).

42 Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 249.

the seven sacraments, the works of corporal and spiritual mercy, the six sins against the Holy Spirit, the forgotten sins.<sup>43</sup>

The question of texts returns us again to that fundamental transformation in our understanding of what it means to be a Christian. Why should popes, councils or theologians define a body of texts, let alone require that all learn those texts? For no one was the ability to speak specific words constitutive of faith.<sup>44</sup> Prior to the sixteenth century, no pope and no council decreed what should be taught, or, for that matter, when within a life. There was a broad and long-standing agreement that the baptized should be able to say the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and, after 1200, the Ave Maria,<sup>45</sup> but it was desired, not required in order to be a Christian or to receive the sacraments of penance or Communion. No particular text or particular body of texts was required education for a Christian.<sup>46</sup>

Within that world of images, gestures, and words as sounds spoken and sung, how might one define 'doctrine'? How might one separate handfuls of words from a dense culture of penance and the precise measure of sin, of Communion and the material transformation of the mundane into the divine, of death at birth and life at death, of vows that changed the nature of a person, of mercy and the command of love, and of the Incarnation, with its complex intertwining of speech, action, and divinity? How could words alone be the "what" a Christian "should know"?

Small fragile codices such as the *Isagoge* are the preeminent evidence of a fundamental transformation in the nature of knowledge of Christianity and its media: from a broadly shared conceptualization of Christian knowledge as mediated through a multitude of objects, performances, enactments, gestures, colors, sounds, textures, as well as wine and bread; to a definition of 'Christianity' as text-centered, in which one acquires knowledge through reading and expresses that knowledge in words. Sixteenth-century catechisms both taught and materialized that new definition. They sought to teach "what every Christian should know", a 'knowledge' without which a person "should not be numbered among Christians nor admitted to any sacrament".<sup>47</sup> They sought to dissolve the cognitive and material distance between codex and person,

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43 This is a partial list from one of the Confessionals discussed in Weidenhiller, 101–21.

44 Cf. Paul Jacobs, *Theologie Reformierter Bekenntnisschriften in Grundzügen* (Neukirchen, 1959), Part I.

45 Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order," 38.

46 Cf. Hedwig Munscheck, *Die Concordantiae caritatis des Ulrich von Lilienfeld: Untersuchungen zu Inhalt, Quellen und Verbreitung* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 85–6.

47 Luther, "The Large Catechism," 383.

to teach that the ‘knowledge’ on the page made one Christian, not baptism. Words, printed then spoken, seen then embodied, were, they taught, what made one a ‘Christian’.

The history in which catechisms’ import is restored to them begins not with Martin Luther, not with the Reformation at all, but with an event traditionally excluded from narratives of the Reformation. Even our names for the event—Discovery of the New World, Encounter, Columbian Exchange<sup>48</sup>—tend to cloak a simple fact: Columbus had no idea what he was seeing or where he was. As fifteenth-century Ptolemaic maps visualize,<sup>49</sup> all the classical and Christian sources had no knowledge of the western hemisphere, its continents, its peoples, its cultures, its languages, its fauna or its flora. The history begins, in other words, with being lost. It begins with epistemological crisis. It begins with the Encounter’s destabilization of the very category of ‘knowledge’.<sup>50</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century, Michel de Montaigne would so famously ask, “¿Que sçay-je?”

By the first decade of the sixteenth century, acute observers were making explicit something of the foundational challenges of the places Amerigo Vespucci was the first to name *Mundus Novus* in 1503. One such observer was Thomas More, whose best-selling *Utopia* numbers among the earliest efforts to come to terms with the sheer enormity of the implications of the western hemisphere for Europe. More’s book circulated to readers, first in Latin, then in the vernacular, what were deeply destabilizing questions: are human beings by their nature Christian? Is baptism no more than a confirmation of a natural affinity? *Utopia* pursued imaginatively a question that ultimately tore apart medieval Christendom: what is it to be Christian? That question reverberated

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48 See, inter alia, Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, 1993); Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven, 1993); Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994); José Rabasa, *Inventing A-m-e-r-i-c-a: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism* (Norman, 1993); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill, 1995); James Dougal Fleming, ed., *The Invention of Discovery, 1500–1700* (Farnham, 2011).

49 See the beautiful example in the Newberry Library Collection: [http://publications.newberry.org/k12maps/module\\_01/map/core.html](http://publications.newberry.org/k12maps/module_01/map/core.html).

50 See, in addition to those listed in note 47, Lee Palmer Wandel, Introduction, Walter S. Melion and Lee Palmer Wandel, eds., *Early Modern Eyes* (Leiden, 2010), 1–9; Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991); Carina L. Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (Cambridge, 2011).

through the century and across the Atlantic, as Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Mercedarians, and Jesuits sought to carry Christianity to ‘the New World’ and around the globe. However we name Columbus’s setting foot on islands unknown in the entire corpus of European knowledge, his question, taken up by so many, “can they be Christian?” displaced ‘Christian’ from its visual, haptic, and sonic landscape.

In the early 1520s—in the years when Columbus’s accounts, Cortés’s letters, *Utopia*, and other writings of unknown worlds were circulating in print<sup>51</sup>—those calling themselves Evangelicals began taking apart discursively and physically the dense visual, haptic, and aural world of medieval Christianity, piece by piece.<sup>52</sup> They rejected vestments, rich liturgical vessels and books, eternal lights, monastic chant, the divine office, liturgical hours, monastic habits, cloisters, sacramentals, relics and reliquaries, images, crucifixes, the Canon of the Mass as well as, for many, the Mass in its entirety. For those whose testimonies have been preserved, the problem with the things of medieval Christianity was not their materiality. When human beings themselves took up matter to fashion images, crucifixes, vestments, liturgical book covers, chalices, pyxes, flabella, those objects did not have their origin in God—they originated in human imagination—and *therefore*, they could not lead to knowledge of God. Epistemologically, they were tautological.<sup>53</sup> They were not ‘Christian’, as Evangelicals were defining the name.

As Europeans questioned the meaning of the word, ‘Christian’, they tore apart the fabric of late medieval Christianity. Beginning in the 1520s, and culminating in the Wonderyear of 1566, iconoclasts broke sculpture into cobblestones, pulled down wayside crosses, smashed altars, broke apart retables, melted down candlesticks, patens, chalices, and golden crucifixes. Clerical vestments were handed out to the poor. Magistrates and princes silenced bells, dissolved cloisters, and declared illegal the clerical estate and the celebration of the Mass. In cities and principalities, governments instituted “Reformation”,

51 Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Introduction.

52 On the dismantling of late medieval Christianity, see Charles Garside, Jr., *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven, 1966); Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Part II; Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge, 1995); Cécile Dupeux, Peter Jetzler, and Jean Wirth, eds., *Bildersturm: Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille?* (Zurich, 2000); Peter Blickle et al., eds. *Macht und Ohnmacht der Bilder: Reformatorischer Bildersturm im Kontext der europäischen Geschichte* (Oldenbourg, 2002).

53 Lee Palmer Wandel, “Idolatry and Iconoclasm: Alien Religions and Reformation,” in *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. Natalie May (Oriental Institute Studies 8) (2012): 211–27.

which typically reduced the number of sacraments to two—baptism and the Eucharist—established a new liturgy for collective worship, and in so doing, carved up the ancient landscape of medieval Christendom into islands of differing Christianities. It was not simply that in one place, this particular sovereign instituted one form of Christianity within its jurisdiction, in another, its sovereign instituted a different Christianity. By 1555 and the Peace of Augsburg, ‘Christianity’ was not a shared landscape, but a contested term.

The *Isagoge* belongs to a surging ocean of texts—polemics, treatises, sermons, confessions, laws—all claiming to teach ‘true Christianity’ in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Print was older than the Reformation;<sup>54</sup> late medieval friars and theologians had printed such widely popular handbooks of devotion as Dietrich Colde’s *Mirror for Christians*.<sup>55</sup> But print bore a singular relationship to the Reformation.<sup>56</sup> Print materialized the fragmentation of Christendom. Luther’s German Bible, John Calvin’s French Bible, the Latin Vulgate were printed. Self-consciously divergent liturgies were printed—to be practiced in places isolated from one another. Confessions that defined divergent Churches were printed.<sup>57</sup> Print played a key role in the polemical

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- 54 For a brief summary of the import of print for Europe, see Cristina Dondi, “The European Printing Revolution,” in *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, ed. Michael Suarez, S.J., and H.R. Woudhuysen (Oxford, 2010), 53–61. For formative studies in the field, see Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton (London, 1976 (1984)); Sandra Hindman, ed., *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca, 1991); Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999). On the import of print for early modern European culture, see the debate between Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979); and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998); revisited in an *American Historical Review* forum, “How Revolutionary was the Print Revolution?” (2002): 84–128. On the inherent instabilities of print, see David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003).
- 55 On Dietrich Colde, see Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 254–6. For a modern translation of the *Mirror*, see Denis Janz, ed., *Three Reformation Catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran* (New York, 1982), 29–130.
- 56 On the relationship of print and Reformation, see R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1994); Jean-François Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book*, trans. Karin Maag (Aldershot, 1998).
- 57 Jacobs, *Theologie Reformierter Bekenntnisschriften*; Lee Palmer Wandel, “Confessions,” in *A Companion to Multiconfessionalism in the Early Modern World*, ed. Thomas Max Safley (Leiden, 2011), 23–43.

construction of the boundaries of each community of faith's membership.<sup>58</sup> The sermons and particular readings of scriptural books and chapters of increasingly divided pastors were printed and in print disseminated.<sup>59</sup>

Print became a key medium as the landscape of late medieval Christendom was carved into archipelagos of belief. Arguably, late medieval Christians did not need anything portable to live and practice as Christians. Even when they traveled—in search of work, on pilgrimage, for war—they traveled within a landscape they held to be in certain fundamentals shared.<sup>60</sup> 'Reformation' drove Europeans from their homes in the thousands.<sup>61</sup> In Scotland, England, Denmark, and German principalities, 'Reformation' constituted a legal act in which those who practiced and lived a different Christianity were subject to fines, imprisonment, torture, exile, or martyrdom. In Spain and the Habsburg Netherlands, Lutherans, Reformed Christians, and Anabaptists faced the Inquisition and possible martyrdom.

Print proliferated in a world in which the leaders of Churches might preach in Wittenberg, Geneva, Edinburgh, or Rome, while those who looked to them for their vision of true Christianity gathered in London, Amsterdam, or Vienna to practice what they diversely held to be "true Christianity". Catechisms participated in that division, as we shall see, teaching divergent readings of ancient and familiar texts. Their cultural importance is inseparable from it: it engendered the desire, for so many Christians, for a site, a material location, where they might look to find that 'knowledge' that defined them as Christian.

As Erasmus, Luther, Calvin and dozens of other authors recognized, print could provide a common material site. In his *Paraclesis*, Erasmus invited Christians to view the Bible as the focus of devotional reading and practice. Luther sought to put his German Bible in the homes of those who might never

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58 Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*.

59 Cf. Alexandra Walsham, "Preaching without speaking: script, print and religious dissent," in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge, 2004), 211–34.

60 Southern, *Western Society and the Church*.

61 On migration in the sixteenth century, see Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, 2002), Chapter 4. On exile, see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986); Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark, 2011); Timothy G. Fehler, Greta Grace Kroeker, Charles H. Parker and Jonathan Ray, eds., *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile* (Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World 12) (London, 2014); Jesse Spohnholz and Gary K. Waite, eds., *Exile and Religious Identity, 1500–1800* (Religious Cultures in the Early Modern World 18) (London, 2014).



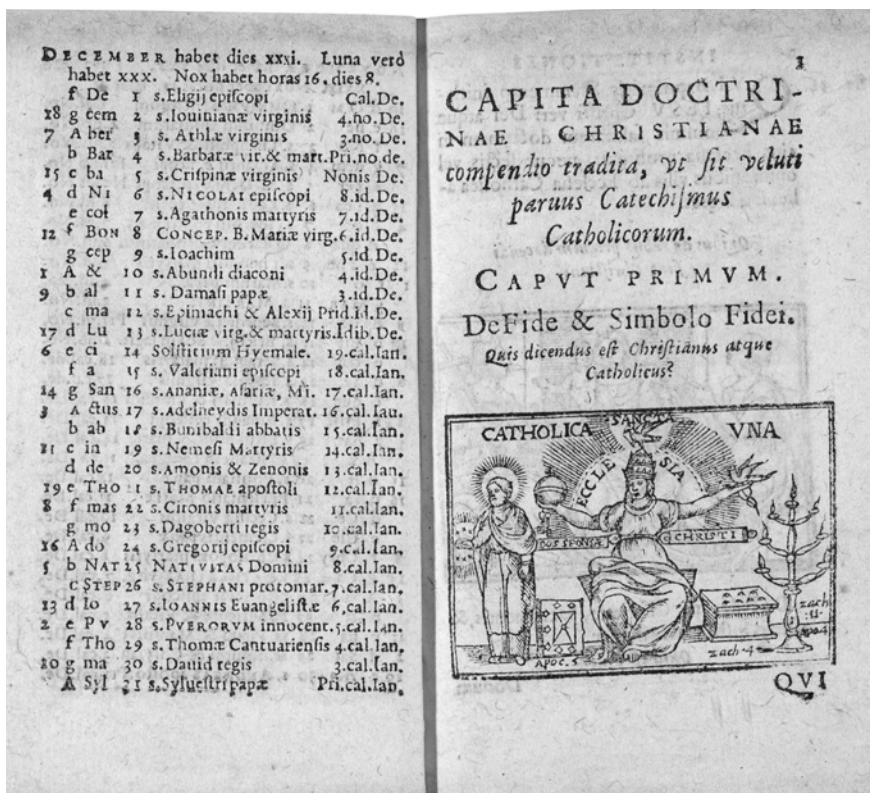


FIGURE 4 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 1–2. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

hear him preach. The Geneva Bible was the source of shared metaphors, phrasings, allusions. In a world of people in motion, Christians living under the cross might hold the object that materially linked them to others who held another copy of the same object. Printed codices could constitute connections of hand, home, and mind, shared words in shared sentences over distance and dispersion.

Well into the sixteenth century, Europeans, especially Europeans in the western hemisphere, still defined a 'Christian' as one who was baptized. But during the sixteenth century, a new definition came to be promulgated. The first pages of thousands of printed catechisms, like Peter Canisius's *Little Catechism* (Fig. 4),<sup>62</sup> placed a version of the question before the eyes of their

62 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 1.



readers: who is a Christian? They taught catechumens not simply to answer it, but to ask it and to see it,<sup>63</sup> here visually distinguished by *Italic font* from the words before and framed by the Roman letters of the chapter heading and the words in the woodcut. While readers of Canisius's *Little Catechism* had to turn the page to read the answer, many, many catechisms placed question and answer on the plane of the same page, the words that formed the answer visually and spatially connected to the question.

Even as many still grounded their definition in the sacrament of baptism, that sacrament was, as Peter Canisius's catechisms taught, an initiation—it was necessary, essential, but not definitive. In so many sixteenth-century catechisms, the answer to the question, “what is a Christian?” or “why are you a Christian?” encompassed the ability to “confess”—give oral expression to—“doctrine”.<sup>64</sup> Or, to shift the language back to Luther, a Christian “knew” words that had been printed on a page—the very definition of what it meant to be a Christian was bound up with words on a page as never before. ‘Knowledge’—of Commandments, articles, petitions, words of institution, and their ‘meaning’ that were contained in a single object, a codex—made one a Christian.

The Minister.

What is the chief end of human life?

The Child.

It is to know God.

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63 Cf. Edward Tufte, *Beautiful Evidence* (Cheshire, CT, 2006).

64 The Anabaptists seem not to have shared this understanding of ‘Christian’: “Among Anabaptist publications, Balthasar Hubmaier’s may be considered the oldest catechism, bearing the title, *Ein Christennliche Leertafel, die ein yedlicher mensch, ee vnd er im Wasser getaufft wirdt, vor wissen solle* (Nikolsburg 1526). In it Hubmaier treats the various points of doctrine in the form of a conversation between Hans and Leonhard von Liechtenstein. It is not probable that Hubmaier’s catechism was actually used as such. For a long time there is no indication that a catechism was used by the Anabaptists (except among the Hutterian Brethren, Walpot’s catechism) in addition to the Bible in youth instruction. The Dutch Mennonites were the first known to use them, and produced over 140 different forms 1633–1950, none of which became universally accepted or dominant.” Christian Neff and Harold S. Bender. “Catechism.” *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*. 1953. Web. 20 Feb. 2014. <http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Catechism&oldid=102127>.

The Minister.

What in sum is the substance of this knowledge?

The Child.

It is contained in the confession of Faith of all Christians, which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, because it is a summary of the true faith which has always been held in Christianity, and also because it is derived from the pure apostolic doctrine.

John Calvin, *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>65</sup>

Printed catechisms both defined the 'knowledge' that, they said, made a person Christian, and contained it. As we shall see in Chapter 6, Lutheran and Catholic catechisms could also contain images—but there was no simple divide, Catholic/visual, Evangelical/verbal. In Europe, for Catholics and Evangelicals alike, the 'knowledge' that defined a human being as Christian comprised texts, and catechisms sought to teach those texts—to children, school boys, university students, fathers, mothers, men, women, servants, households, clergy and laity, Europeans and, ultimately, peoples in other parts of the world.

If by the end of the century, catechisms were to emerge as the preeminent printed instrument for forming religious identity, in the early decades of the century, as the *Isagoge* manifests, there was no clear genre 'catechism' such as is now understood. As we shall see in Chapter 1, some texts, like the *Isagoge*, were not titled catechism. The title, 'Catechism', appeared on a range of printed objects, from Johannes Brenz's eight-page catechism to summae of more than 800 pages such as that of Luis de Granada,<sup>66</sup> and in all the

65 John Calvin, LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 5–6. Citations from the Genevan Catechism henceforth will be drawn from the modern edition, John Calvin, "Le Catechisme de l'Eglise de Geneve," *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, 2nd ed. (Geneva, 2005). The modern edition draws on five separate editions published in Geneva—one in 1549, two in 1553, and one each in 1556 and 1561—and numbers the questions and answers. The edition of 1549, one of the sources for the modern edition, did not number the individual questions, but did divide catechesis into "Sundays." The formatting on the page in this book will follow the look of the 1549 edition, even as the modern edition serves as the source for translation.

66 Johannes Brenz, CATE-//CHISMVS PRO // IVENTVTE HAL=//lensi (Nürnberg: Johannes Petreius, 1541); Luis de Granada, CATECHISMVS // IN SYMBOLVM // FIDEI (Venice, 1586), which runs to nearly 900 pages. For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 1.

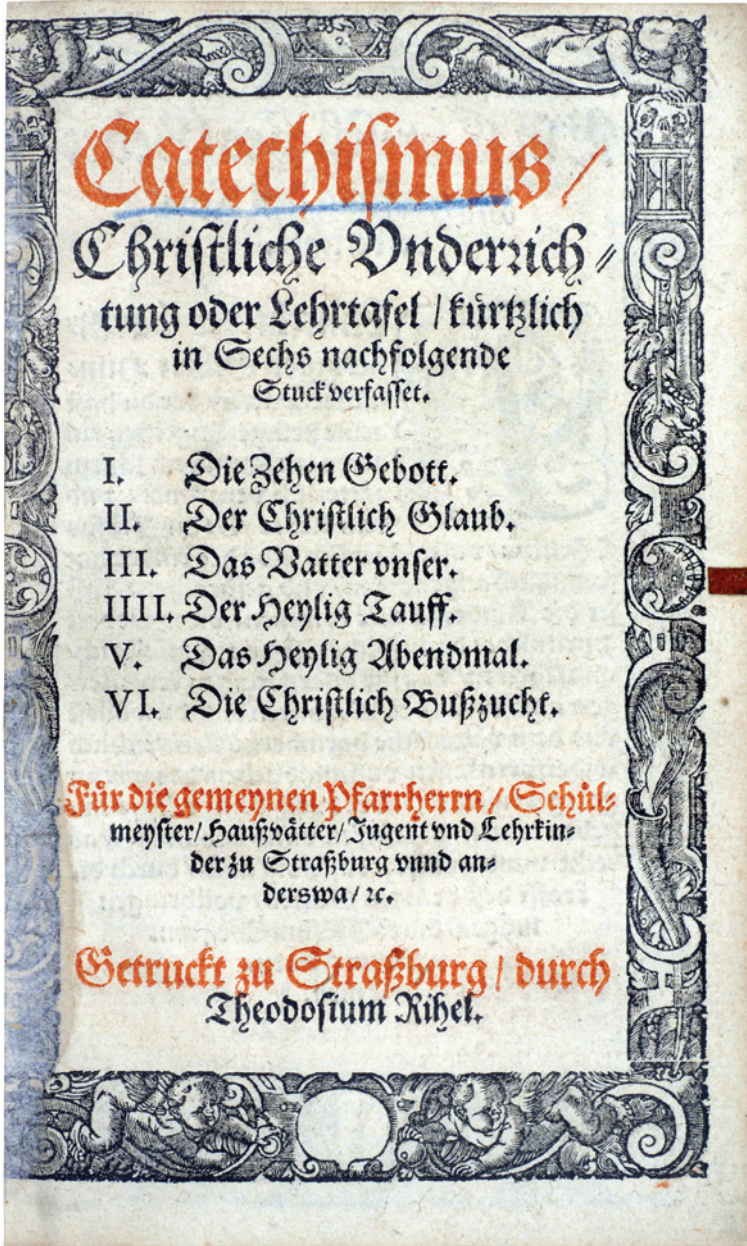


FIGURE 5 *Catechismus* /// *Christliche Vnderrich*==//*tung oder Lehrtafel* /  
*kuertzlich* // *in Sechs nachfolgende* // *Stuck verfasst* (Strasbourg:  
*Theodosius Rihel*, [1550]), title page. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek  
 Augsburg.

languages of Europe, from Latin, Hebrew and Greek to Gaelic and Catalan.<sup>67</sup> The title appeared on codices ranging in size from objects smaller than duodecimo to folio, from objects small enough for a child's hand to those too large, too heavy for adult hands. Some organized the texts in a question and answer format, though even then, as we shall see in Chapter 1, the questions differed. Some asked detailed questions; others, like an undated Strasbourg *Catechism*, simply asked the child, "What is the first part [of Christian teaching], the Ten Commandments?"<sup>68</sup> Some, such as that same Strasbourg *Catechism*, provided a list on the title page of their components (Fig. 5),<sup>69</sup> telling the reader, by the sequencing of the components, the number of sacraments, whether the catechism was Evangelical or Catholic, Lutheran or Reformed, local or transregional. Some, like this Strasbourg *Catechism*, contained images, which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, existed in differing relationships to the texts. At least one broadsheet—not a codex at all—survived.<sup>70</sup> The single page, published in Zurich in 1525, presented the Ten Commandments in two columns in the top two thirds of the sheet, and then below, across the entire sheet, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Apostles' Creed—all in Fraktur, all without comment. Our modern notion of catechism—core texts formatted in questions and answers and printed in a codex—emerged only at the end of the sixteenth century.

Most catechisms, physically fragile, also proved for one reason or another ecclesially fragile: in hindsight we can now say, they did not build, did not form and inform, a living human community who would chose, even fight, generation after generation to teach their children its contents. Some cat-

67 On the problems in defining and locating early modern catechisms, with specific regard to England, see Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, c. 1530–1740* (Oxford, 1996), 45–56.

68 Anonymous, *Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst* (Strasbourg: Theodosium Rihel, ?c. 1550), unpaginated.

69 Anonymous, *Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst* (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]).

70 The broadsheet, another text of which the original no longer survives, is reproduced on two pages in Ferdinand Cohrs, who numbers it among catechetical texts, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 1: *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche aus den Jahren 1522–1526* (Berlin, 1900), 126–7. Another single-page "Catechism" survives in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, in Christopher Plantin's records of his publications: Augustinus Hunnaeus, *CATECHISMI CATHOLICI // SCHEMA*, though, as the title suggests, it is more a visualization of the relationship among the different parts of catechesis.

echisms survived the sixteenth century in both senses: materially, in the form of dozens of codices; and ecclesiologically. The reasons for their dual survival are many. The catechisms of Martin Luther,<sup>71</sup> Peter Canisius,<sup>72</sup> and John Calvin,<sup>73</sup> the Heidelberg Catechism<sup>74</sup> and the Catechism of the Council

71 On Luther's catechisms, see foremost Albrecht Peters, *Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismen*, 5 vols. (Göttingen, 1990–94).

72 On Peter Canisius's catechisms, see *S. Petri Canisii Doctoris Ecclesiae Catechismi Latini et Germanici*, ed. Friedrich Streicher, S.J., Part. 1: *Catechismi Latini* (Rome, 1933), and Part 2: *Catechismi Germanici* (Rome, 1936); *Petrus Canisius Der Große Katechismus: Summa doctrinae christianae* (1555), ed. and comment Hubert Filser and Stephan Leimgruber (Regensburg, 2003); and Paul Begheyn, S.J., *Petrus Canisius en zijn catechismus: De geschiedenis van een bestseller/Peter Canisius and his catechism: The history of a bestseller* (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen, 2005).

73 On John Calvin's Catechisms, see Jacobs, *Theologie Reformierter Bekenntnisschriften*, 24–36; Rodolphe Peter, *Jean Calvin: Deux Congrégations et Exposition du Catéchisme* (Cahiers de la Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 38) (Paris, 1964), xxv–xxvii; Jean-Pierre Pin, "Pour une analyse textuelle du catechism (1542) de Jean Calvin," in *Calvinus Ecclesiae Doctor*, ed. W.H. Neuser (Kampen, 1978), 159–70; *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio (Geneva, 1986), 26–28; Matthias Freudenberg, "Catechisms," trans. Judith J. Guder, in Herman J. Selderhuis, ed., *The Calvin Handbook* (Grand Rapids, 2009), 206–14. Calvin's earliest catechism is no longer extant; a second version of that first catechism was published in Basel in 1538. On the evolution of the *Institutes* and its relationship to those first catechisms, see Richard Müller, "Establishing the *Ordo docendi*: The Organization of Calvin's *Institutes*, 1536–1559," *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford, 2000), 118–39. In 1549, Calvin published a radically revised version of his catechism, now formatted into question and answer and temporally structured to Sundays. In this book, references to "the Genevan Catechism" usually refers to Fatio's modern scholarly edition, which centers on *Le Catechisme de Geneve* published by Jean Girard in Geneva in 1549.

74 Originally published as *Catechismus // Oder // Christlicher Unterricht // wie der in Kirchen und Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt* (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), and *CATECHE-//SIS RELIGIONIS // CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRA-//DITVR IN ECCLESIIIS ET // SCHOLIS PALA-//TINATVS* (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), the Catechism is known as the Heidelberg Catechism, which will be used, unitalicized, in this study. On the historical background of the Heidelberg Catechism, see A. Lang, *Der Heidelberger Katechismus und vier verwandte Katechismen* (Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Protestantismus 3) (Leipzig, 1907), Introduction; Walter Hollweg, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Heidelberger Katechismus* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche 13) (Neukirchen, 1961); *Essays on the Heidelberg Catechism* (Philadelphia, 1963); J. F. G. Goeters, "Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des Katechismus," in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. Lothar Coenen (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1963), 3–23; Joachim Staedtke, "Entstehung und Bedeutung des Heidelberger Katechismus," in *Warum wirst du ein Christ genannt?*, ed. Walter Herrenblich



of Trent<sup>75</sup> were promulgated. German princes authorized the publication of Luther's catechism. The Emperor called for Canisius to write a catechism, then supported its publication throughout his lands. The Elector Palatinate commanded the composition and supported the wide publication of the Heidelberg Catechism, which traveled to exile communities. Calvin's catechism, published with the authority of the magistrates of Geneva, was also carried to communities of exiles. The Council of Trent authorized one catechism and provided a limited number of publishers—in Rome, Venice, Antwerp, Paris—the right to print and sell it. Each of these catechisms was authorized; each was published in editions the author(s) oversaw, and in editions adapted, pirated, appropriated for local use.

But political support was not the only reason for survival. Luther's, Calvin's, and Canisius's catechisms and the Heidelberg Catechism were all published clandestinely as well as legally, carried into hostile lands as well as promulgated in lands of their particular Confessions. Unlike the Catechism of the Council of Trent, all were easily portable. The Catechism of the Council of Trent was not intended for personal use; it was intended to be the source of catechetical sermons, to guide a clergy itself ever better educated in teaching the laity Christian doctrine. Canisius's catechism continued to be printed in multiple editions and formats—not only in places such as England, where the public practice of the Catholic faith was illegal and dangerous, but in the Empire, where the Catechism of the Council of Trent was formally and publicly promulgated—in far greater numbers than any of the other Catholic catechisms

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and Udo Smidt (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1963), 11–23; Lyle D. Bierma, ed., *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History, and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2005), Part 1. On the editions of the Catechism, see Douwe Nauta, “Die Verbreitung des Katechismus, Übersetzung in andere Sprachen, moderne Bearbeitungen,” in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, 39–62; Jochen Gruch, *Deutschsprachige Drucke des Heidelberger Katechismus 1563–1800* (Cologne, 1996). There is an enormous body of commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, beginning with that by one of the authors of the Catechism, *The Commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism*, trans. G. W. Williard (Grand Rapids, 1956) to Fred H. Klooster, *Our Only Comfort: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, 2001). Each constitutes a ‘reading’ of the Catechism and many have come to shape how the Catechism is taught.

75 On the Catechism of the Council of Trent, see Gerhard Bellinger, *Der Catechismus Romanus und die Reformation: Die katechetische Antwort des Trienter Konzils auf die Haupt-Katechismen der Reformatoren* (Paderborn, 1970); Petrus Rodríguez, *Introductio, Catechismvs Romanvs seu Catechismvs ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos Pii Qvinti Pont. Max. Ivssv Editvs* (Vatican, 1989).

for lay use.<sup>76</sup> Canisius's catechisms testify to the importance of the codex in the formation of Christian identity in the sixteenth century: even as Rome sought to regularize and regulate Christian education, it gave its imprimatur to a catechism that could be hidden, read away from churches, schools, seminaries, and courts.

From the sea of texts in the early years of the fragmentation of Christianity, a small handful of catechisms emerged by the end of the century—Luther's two catechisms, the Genevan Catechism,<sup>77</sup> the Heidelberg Catechism—that were to form 'Churches' whose members were scattered across the face of the globe. In this book, I am arguing that Canisius's catechism belongs to that group.<sup>78</sup> Into the seventeenth century, Canisius's catechisms continued to be published in more editions, more formats, and in more places than the Catechism of the Council of Trent. Critically, for the focus of this study, Canisius's catechisms sought to bind person and codex—as the Catechism of the Council of Trent did not. The Catechism of the Council of Trent belongs to a long tradition of catechetical sermons—more detailed, more specific, but sermons, like those of Thomas Aquinas, or, in the sixteenth century, Michael Holding or Andreas Osiander, not a codex directing a reader. This study seeks to understand how catechetical codices were designed to work—to reach readers, to form minds and hearts, to build communities of persons all of whom embodied the same texts.

Those objects have been nearly invisible in the historiography for a number of reasons. The texts printed in them have become so familiar through precisely the process those codices materialize that it is difficult to remember they "contain" texts placed together in a specific sequence for the first time. Sixteenth-century catechisms set those texts, both their content and their relationship to one another, for the first time. The very novelty of codicil catechisms may also be difficult to see because they may have been the preeminent instrument teaching people to read in the way we now hold to be normative: from the 'beginning' of a book, its first pages, to its end; from the top of each page to its bottom, from the left-hand corner to the right-hand corner. So

76 Paul Begheyn provides the most recent numbers: "During the lifetime of Peter Canisius 331 different editions of his catechism were published", *Petrus Canisius en zijn catechismus*, 85.

77 Among the adaptations of the Genevan Catechism, perhaps the most famous is Théodore de Bèze's, which was published in London. See, for example, *A little Catechisme*, that is // to say, a short instruction touching Christian // religion. London: Hugh Singleton, 1578.

78 Begheyn documents the effort to create a catechism that would respond implicitly, but not explicitly, to Evangelical catechisms, *Petrus Canisius en zijn catechismus*, Ch. 2.

many people have been catechized using versions of Luther's catechisms and the Heidelberg Catechism that the words on the page are no longer a thing apart, themselves placed on the page in specified ways to be seen as well as spoken in one way and not another. And the codex has become inseparable from Christian identity, such that seeing the codex itself as an instrument for forming Christian identity is perhaps the most difficult of all.

But codicil catechisms did not emerge in a world of universal literacy such as we now hold as an ideal, if not a norm. Indeed, they emerged in a world that did not yet measure 'literacy'<sup>79</sup> precisely because, I am suggesting, being able to read was not requisite for being a Christian.<sup>80</sup> Codicil catechisms emerged in the visual and material density that was medieval Christianity and that was dismantled with the Reformation. When catechisms were first published in such numbers, they were one medium among many—images, words spoken and chanted, persons embodying various conceptualizations of the apostolic life and the life of Christ. And those European Christians who read did so in a wide variety of ways. Books of Hours, commonplace books, commentaries, missals, glosses all invited different modes of reading.<sup>81</sup>

This is a study of printed catechisms—the material traces of a complex interplay of persons and physical objects.<sup>82</sup> It originated with and remains

79 Cf. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*; Camille, "Seeing and Reading".

80 On early modern literacy, see François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, eds., *Lire et écrire: l'alphabétisation des Français de Calvin à Jules Ferry* (Paris, 1977); R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800* (New York, 1988); István György Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest, 2000).

81 See, for example, Boynton and Reilly, eds., *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*; Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*.

82 This cannot be a study of all sixteenth-century catechisms. Not all catechisms survived: Léon Voet found titles listed in Christopher Plantin's inventories for which he could find no extant copy; Josef Benzing lists titles for Luther of which no copy survives, as does Friedrich Streicher for Peter Canisius. Léon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): a bibliography of the works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, in collaboration with Jenny Voet-Grisolle (Amsterdam, 1980–83); Josef Benzing, with Helmut Claus, *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden, 1989), vol. I, 298–311; Streicher, *Canisii Catechismi*, Part. 1: *Catechismi Latini*, Prolegomenon VIII, 96–181; and Part 2: *Catechismi Germanici*, Prolegomenon II, 16–33. Some, like the Strasbourg *Isagoge*, survive in the serendipity of history: at some point, someone put a copy on a shelf, in a personal library, in a seminary library for study. Evidence of the fragmentation of Christianity in the sixteenth century, catechisms such as the *Isagoge* are a trace of what, in hindsight, like 'the Church of Strasbourg' or the 'Church of Ulm' or the 'Church of Augsburg' or the 'Church of Nuremberg', did not survive the sixteenth century—themselves belonging to a specific



grounded in the physical experience of holding in my own hands, adult but small, sixteenth-century codices ranging from 24° to folio, over years well over a hundred in number, feeling the heft of each, examining each, and reading each.<sup>83</sup>

The ordinary Christians who were the intended readers are largely lost to us. This study assumes no one reader—whether theologically informed or novice. It imagines instead thousands of individual readers such as Hans Georg Gadamer has posited, each of whom brought unique experiences and education to reading itself, each of whom, in reading, entered into a dialectical relationship with the text in which both reader and text were changed in the process of reading.<sup>84</sup> Following Gadamer, it also imagines instances of reading, of intimate encounters between reader and page in a particular moment in time, a moment construed both historically, at the level, of say, the Reformation, and personally, at the level of a far less visible conversion to one way of understanding Christianity. But readers are not the focus of this study: it does not pursue marginalia or manicules—which are, in any event, relatively few in number.<sup>85</sup>

Later catechetical practices, which were the consequence of the Reformation,<sup>86</sup> regularized the use of the codex in catechesis, but in the

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time and place. And, finally, not all catechisms have been cataloged, given the vagaries of their titles and their fragility, which sometimes resulted in the loss of the title page.

- 83 The catechisms that form the basis of this study are listed in the Bibliography. It is drawn from the physical collections of the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, the Museum Plantin-Moretus, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the StudienBibliothek Dillingen Donau, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum Bibliothek, the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, the Universitätsbibliothek Universiteit van Amsterdam, the Universitätsbibliothek Universiteit Utrecht, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, and the Newberry Library; and from collections available online.
- 84 Cf. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*, 2 vols. (Tübingen, 1960/1990).
- 85 For an excellent introduction to early modern readers' marks, see William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008). For a delightful discussion of recent exhibitions of readers' marks, see Anthony Grafton, "Scrawled Insults and Epiphanies," *New York Review of Books* (February 19, 2015).
- 86 Most authors of catechisms intended for them to be used in a formal setting, a school or church, and for catechesis to be led by someone learned in the doctrine, priest, minister, or schoolmaster. On religious education in the sixteenth century, see Mertz, *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert*; Frederick Eby, *Early Protestant Educators: The Educational Writings of Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Other Leaders of Protestant Thought* (New York, 1931). On the formal teaching of Luther's catechism, see Robert Bast,

sixteenth century, catechisms might or might not be used in formal settings, as Churches were constituted over distance and dispersion. The objects themselves present glimpses of reading practices<sup>87</sup>—manicules, scriptural references written alongside the printed text, and other marginalia—but there was no established practice in the sixteenth century. Codicil catechisms might be carried on the road into exile; they might be distributed to boys in school; they might be kept in a home in a place where that Christianity was illegal; they might be the one book a family owned, that site for knowledge, that ‘little Bible’. Authors of catechisms invited each of these uses.

Conceptually and methodologically the codex—as medium, as instrument, as container—is at center in this book. The following analysis is firmly and insistently grounded in that notion that each printed object ‘contained’ “what a Christian needed to know”. Each of the authors at once hoped for catechesis within a larger community, led by those more learned in the tradition, and acknowledged the experience of exile and persecution. The hands that held the catechism might be in a school, a church, a home their family had owned for generations, but they might also be sheltered in a stranger’s house, in a foreign city, or eventually, across the Atlantic. Thus, the pages of catechisms might or might not have resonated with sermons, might or might not have been reinforced with the regular instruction and admonition of a priest or minister, might or might not have been embedded in a particular soundscape, architecture, images, and preaching. What a catechism taught, as their authors knew, had, for some of their imagined readers, to be independent of all the other writing and preaching and images and music. Thus, notes will direct the interested reader to studies of themes in the individual authors’ bodies of work, but the chapters do not seek to set catechetical instruction within the broader fabric of each individual theologian’s work. Each chapter approaches catechesis of the texts through those strategies that are there on the page—the visualization of words that transformed them into a very particular kind of ‘knowledge’. Each chapter is also guided implicitly by the author’s own sense of a wide range of readers, in terms of education, familiarity, and literacy, in a variety of possible settings. None seeks to offer a conclusive or exhaustive read-

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*Honor your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, c. 1400–1600* (Leiden, 1997). On the formal teaching of the Heidelberg Catechism, see Heinrich Graffmann, “Erklärung des Heidelberger Katechismus in Predigt und Unterricht des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, 63–77.

87 On methods for reconstructing the reading practices of ordinary Christians, see Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*; Elisabeth Salter, “‘The Dayes Moralised’: Reconstructing Devotional Reading, c. 1450–1560,” in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400–1640*, ed. Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Alersshot, 2007), 145–62.

ing of the catechisms. Each seeks to call attention to the ways authors sought to teach what have become, over time, for millions, familiar as texts of specific wording, cadences, pauses, and rhythms. Each is also cast in past tense: though three catechisms have remained in use since the sixteenth century, the focus of this book is codices that were produced in the sixteenth century.

Reading was and is a haptic, a somatic, and a visual experience. All authors of catechisms drew on what I call *the spatial logic of the codex* to structure the temporal process of catechesis, a process that was distinctive to each codex. All used, that is, the spatial organization—front to back, left to right, top to bottom—to structure a process conducted over days, weeks, months, through which each person came to embody the words on the page. To take but one example of what I mean here: Luther's and Canisius's catechisms taught the sacraments after the catechumen had learned the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, while the Heidelberg Catechism located catechesis of the two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist, after the Apostles' Creed, but before the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. If for Luther and Canisius, Commandment, creed, and prayer were to frame and be the threshold through which the catechumen approached the sacraments,<sup>88</sup> prayer, not the sacraments, was to be the endpoint of catechism for exiles. Each author set specific texts in specific spatial relation to one another—and therefore in a specific temporal sequence—that had a number of consequences, not least that each text formed the threshold for the next, and in many catechisms, their authors intended for texts to inform, to frame, the experience of the sacraments.

Authors and printers also drew on the many ways a page is visual to teach their readers to see *texts*—not simply words, but certain words presented on the space of the page as forming a unit, sometimes also typographically distinguished (Fig. 6).<sup>89</sup> Chapters 2 through 4 attend specifically to the divisions that authors made—clauses, sentences, paragraphs—to separate ancient,

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88 For a survey of various theoretical applications and differing conceptualizations of 'frame', see Werner Wolf, "Introduction: Frames, Framings and Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media," in *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Studies in Intermediality 1) (Amsterdam, 2006), 1–40. On the notion of "threshold", see Genette, *Seuils*.

89 On the visualities of the book, see Febvre and Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, ch. 3. On typography, see Warren Chappell and Robert Bringhurst, *A Short History of the Printed Word*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver, 1999); Frans A. Janssen, *Technique and Design in the History of Printing* ('t Goy-Houten, 2004), esp. chs. 1–5; Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham, 2012). On the ways pages visualize information, see Edward Tufte, *Envisioning Information* (Cheshire, CT, 1990).

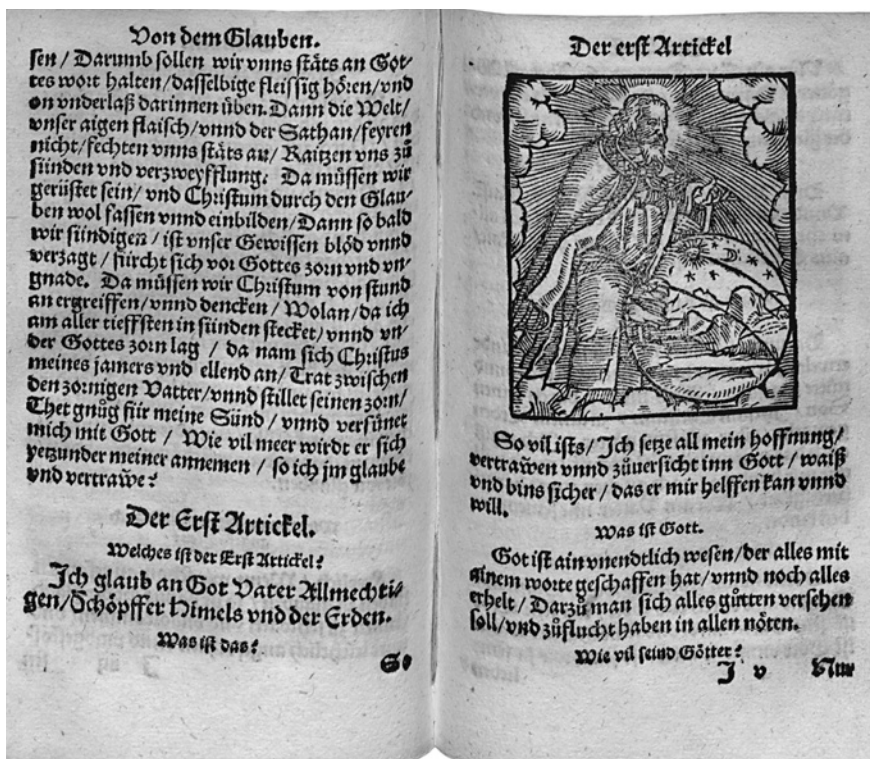


FIGURE 6 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechismus und // Kinder Leere* (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547), Jüüü<sup>r</sup>-Jv. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

often chanted words into clusters of meaning. The close readings offered in Chapters 2 through 4 show how, in placing certain words together and in separating other words that had been chanted together over generations, authors of catechisms sought to teach distinctive “understandings”, as they themselves named it, of the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord’s Prayer. They sought to teach catechumens to connect in their breathing and their enunciation some words and not others—to see some words as forming spatially and, implicitly, semantically, integral units. As we shall see, the Apostles’ Creed *looked* different in different catechisms, their pages visualizing the ancient words as clustered into three parts or twelve. Some authors sought to teach the Lord’s Prayer as a single text; some divided it into seven petitions distinguished visually on the page. The spatialization of words—on the same line, on the same page, in the same paragraph—taught different cadences of speaking and different constellations of meaning. In some catechisms, catechumens saw, many quite possibly for the first time, the Ten Commandments,

the Lord's Prayer, the words of institution for the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, as *texts*, the ink darker and the words larger than anything else on the page.

Printed catechisms did not teach just 'words' in and of themselves—European Christians had prayed, chanted, echoed, spoken silently and aloud ancient, ancient words, which they traced, in so many cases, to the life of Christ. Those words, those sounds, originated, tradition had it, in the case of the Lord's Prayer, in Jesus's own speaking, in the case of the Apostles' Creed, among the apostles themselves, as *The Most Useful Table of the Christian Religion's* rubrics designated. In containing printed words, the pages of codicil catechisms visualized confessionally differentiated texts, texts that were to be spoken in ways that identified a person as belonging to one Church and not another. The page, in ink, on paper, with distinctive spatialization and punctuation materialized confessional identity and, in inviting the reader to dissolve the material distance between page and person, sought to 'in-form' the catechumen with its content.

The surviving artifacts offer evidence that the following divides into two kinds for the sake of analysis: first, the ways the authors of catechisms drew on the spatial logic of the codex and the visualities of the page to shape the practice of reading and the process of catechesis; and second, the 'content' of the knowledge they sought to teach.<sup>90</sup> Chapter 1 takes up the codex as a physical object whose material and visual properties were used to structure the temporal process of catechesis: size; title pages; the use of paratexts, such as letters to the reader and prefaces, to direct the reader as to its use; the use of fonts to distinguish sacred texts, to articulate voices, and to mark chapter breaks which were the larger units of temporal sequencing; the question and answer format; the use of that spatial logic to teach texts in different sequences and therefore different relationships to one another. The first chapter also offers something of an overview of texts that might broadly be defined as catechism.

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90 "Three poles, generally separated by academic tradition, define the space of this history: first, the analysis of texts, either canonical or ordinary, deciphered in their structures, themes, and aims; second, the history of books and, more generally, of all the objects and forms that carry out the circulation of writing; and finally, the study of practices which in various ways take hold of these objects or forms and produce usages and differentiated meanings", Roger Chartier, "Labourers and Voyagers: From the text to the reader," originally in *Diacritics* 22/2 (1992): 49–61; reproduced in *Book History Reader*, ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London, 2002), here at 48. See also Roger Chartier *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France* (Princeton, 1987); *The Order of Books* (Stanford, 1994); *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia, 1995).

The remaining chapters take up the ‘knowledge’ catechisms sought to teach. As Calvin most explicitly recognized in the chapter headings in his catechisms—The Articles of the Faith, Law, Prayer—what we now think of as texts had had very different lives in Christianity. The Apostles’ Creed comprised ‘articles’, specific statements, of belief; forged in the years that Christianity spread northward from the Mediterranean basin, it was circulating in manuscripts before it became a part of catechesis.<sup>91</sup> The Ten Commandments were ‘law’—precepts inscribed in stone for an itinerant people first written in the Torah and then taken up in the medieval promulgation of the sacrament of penance. The Lord’s Prayer was ‘the prayer’, not only for Calvin, but for all Christians since the first century; it had been spoken long before it was written. As each moved from oral catechesis to the printed page, each also became a ‘text’, black ink on paper, specific words, punctuation, syntax, for catechumens as well as priests and ministers. Perhaps the most dramatic trace of that process is the separation of ‘sacraments’, which are the subject of Chapter 5, from words sung in the Mass or recited in preparation for confession.

All authors of catechisms also chose which texts they held to constitute that essential Christian knowledge, which texts were to be contained in the codex. They did not agree. The author of the Strasbourg *Isagoge*, for instance, did not include the Ten Commandments, because, for him, the Commandments were implicated in a sacrament, penance, he rejected. In Johannes Brenz’s 1541 catechism for the schoolboys of Halle, the Magnificat appeared on the page immediately following the page on which FINIS was printed, the word marking the end of the formal catechism, even as the space of the codex included the beloved prayer.<sup>92</sup> Canisius’s catechisms contain an entire fifth chapter, in the *Little Catechisms*, or second part, in the *Summa*, covering topics not to be found in most Evangelical catechisms: ‘Christian justice,’ which encompassed sins—their kinds and definitions—and good works, their fruits, kinds, and definitions.

While some sixteenth-century catechisms simply contained one or more of what were held to be definitive texts, those catechisms that are the focus of Chapters 2 through 5—Luther’s two catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms, and Canisius’s catechisms—sought to do much more. Each carefully specified the wording of what each taught was essential knowledge for a

91 Markus Vinzent, *Der Ursprung des Apostolikums im Urteil der kritischen Forschung* (Göttingen, 2006); Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles’ Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* (Turnhout, 2002).

92 Johannes Brenz, CATE-/CHISMVS PRO//IVENTVTE HAL=//lensi (Nürnberg: Johannes Petreius, 1541).



Christian—the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the sacraments. Each also sought to teach what the authors called “the meaning” of those texts: how their readers were to understand words, clauses, sentences. They did so through a number of strategies, from differing divisions of the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments—articles, petitions, or Commandments—to efforts to set the particular connotations the catechumen would bring to such common words as father, bread, debt, as well as definitions of those words, foremost God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, that had proven so divisive.<sup>93</sup> Some of the reason of their extraordinary survival may well lie in how they structured catechesis—not the texts themselves, but the ways individually and severally these catechisms sought to teach “meaning”. Each formed a discrete Church whose members were informed by distinctive, explicitly divergent catechesis of ancient texts. In the very speaking of those texts, to this day, one hears the boundaries of the Church each catechism sought to form.

Chapters 2 through 5 follow the logic of no one catechism. Chapter 2 takes up the Apostles’ Creed, which was most often explicitly linked to that key word, ‘credo’ and its vernacular translations. For most sixteenth-century authors of catechisms, the Apostles’ Creed was a kind of succinct summary of Christian doctrine; how they taught the Apostles’ Creed will help us to see those differences in theology that in turn ground their approaches to the Ten Commandments as the template or source for ethics and morality (Chapter 3); the relationship of God and humankind as articulated in the Lord’s Prayer (Chapter 4); and the theology and anthropology of the sacraments (Chapter 5). For all catechisms, Catholic and Evangelical, words were the focus.

All catechisms, in claiming to ‘contain’ essential knowledge, altered the relationship of images to that knowledge—whether, in the case of the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms, they eschewed all figural and decorative art and accorded the prohibition of image-making a discrete Commandment, or, in the case of Canisius’s catechisms, they sought to teach the proper understanding of images through verbal catechesis. All accorded words preeminence in the articulation, the definition, and the communication of ‘knowledge’. A minority of all catechisms were printed with woodcuts: Luther’s and Lutheran catechisms, foremost, but also some others. Chapter 6 takes up some of the forms of interplay of engraving or woodcut with text.

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93 “Wenn einer ein ding anders denn der ander versteht / machen viel zweispaltungen / gebehren auch oft viel irthumb”. Philip Melanchthon, *Catechismus // Das ist/ ein Kinderlehr/ ... aus dem Latein ins Deutsch gebracht/ durch Gaspar Bruschen Poeten* [Leipzig, 1544] Avii.

This, then, is a study of the central artifact in the transformation of the western European definition of 'Christianity' from something mediated through things and acts to something 'contained' in specific texts. It also hopes to reveal something of how certain 'catechisms'—as both texts and codices—became durable, and in becoming durable, over generations, came to form and inform individuals, so that Churches might be known by whether one's knowledge of Christianity began with the Ten Commandments or the Apostles' Creed, what kind of debt was to be forgiven.



## The Codex in the Hand

This chapter begins with a simple physical fact. While Friedrich Nausea, Michael Holding, and Andreas Osiander published catechetical sermons, and the Council of Trent, a catechism for priests, in folios far too heavy to be held in a hand and read, they are the exception.<sup>1</sup> The overwhelming majority of surviving codices are small enough for hands to hold. They are small enough for a particular intimacy between reader and text, reader and object.

In format, the *Isagoge* is typical of most sixteenth-century catechisms. The copy in Augsburg is roughly ten by fifteen centimeters—though at half a centimeter thick, it is thinner than many. In format, it is octavo, that is, the printer folded the single sheet of paper three times before binding the sheets together.<sup>2</sup> Octavo is one quarter the size of a folio. It is therefore much smaller, smaller even than most modern paperbacks. It was the format of choice for medieval study bibles. More pages to the sheet of paper, octavo lent itself to cheaper print runs. So, too, many sixteenth-century catechisms were printed on coarser paper, with crudely carved letters.

Not all catechisms survived the sixteenth century—for all sorts of reasons, but perhaps foremost, because catechisms were intended to be used, not set on a shelf. Josef Benzing has identified editions of Martin Luther's catechisms for which there is no surviving copy, as has Friedrich Streicher, for Peter Canisius's catechisms.<sup>3</sup> Given those uncertainties, some numbers may

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1 Michael Holding was bishop of Merseburg, when he preached catechetical sermons in Mainz, CATECHISMVS// Christliche Underweisung // und gegruendter Bericht... (Mainz: Franciscus Behem bey St. Victor, 1551). Friedrich Nausea was bishop of Vienna, CATHOLICVS CATECHISMVS (Cologne: Quenter, 1543) (For full title, please see Bibliography). Conrad Cling published an exposition also in folio format, CONRADI CLIN=//GII THEOLOGI ET ECCLESIASTÆ CELEBER=//rimi (dum uixit) ...//CATECHISMVS CATHOLICVS // summan Christianæ institutionis...(Cologne: Hæredes Arnold Byreman, 1562). Andreas Osiander was the only Evangelical to publish a catechism in folio format, Catechismus oder // Kinder predig (Nürnberg: Johannes Petreius, 1533), which was reissued in multiple editions. See Gerhard Müller and Gottfried Seebaß, eds., *Andreas Osiander d. Ä. Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5: *Schriften und Briefe 1533 bis 1534* (Gütersloh, 1983).

2 Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999), 12–13.

3 Josef Benzing, with Helmut Claus, *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden, 1989), vol. 1, 298–311; *S. Petri Canisii Doctoris Ecclesiae Catechismi Latini et Germanici*, ed. Friedrich Streicher, S.J.,

give a sense of the dramatic proliferation of small catechisms in the sixteenth century. According to Benzing, Luther's *German Catechism* in High German was published in three quarto editions and nineteen octavo editions; in Low German, in nine octavo editions; and in Latin, in four octavo editions.<sup>4</sup> Luther's *Enchiridion* was first published as a single sheet, and when it was published as a book, it was published in octavo format; subsequent editions in German, Low German, Latin, French, and Dutch were all published in octavo, a total of some sixty-one discrete editions. Johannes Spangenberg's adaptation of Luther's *German Catechism*, which appeared in High German (six editions), Low German (one edition), and Latin (three editions), was always published in octavo format. Both Georg Maier's dual translation (eight editions) and Justus Jonas's Latin translation of the *Enchiridion* (seven editions) were published in octavo. According to Streicher, 121 discrete editions of Canisius's Latin catechisms were published during his lifetime; he found bibliographic records for slightly more than half.<sup>5</sup> Of the sixty-nine Latin catechisms Canisius published during his lifetime (1521–97) for which there is some bibliographic record, five were quarto, that is, twice as large as octavo; forty-four—more than eight times as many—were octavo; and twenty, the largest number of any author, were duodecimo, half again as small as octavo, small enough for the boy's hands for which these were largely intended. Indeed, if size is evidence of intent, more than any other single author Canisius sought to put catechisms directly into the hands of boys.<sup>6</sup> Of the sixteen German catechisms published during his

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Part. 1: *Catechismi Latini*, Prolegemenon VIII (Rome, 1933), 96–181, and Part 2: *Catechismi Germanici*, Prolegemenon II (Rome, 1936), 16–33. Paul Begheyn has identified more editions, *Petrus Canisius en zijn catechismus: De geschiedenis van een bestseller/ Peter Canisius and his catechism: The history of a bestseller* (Nijmegen: Museum Het Valkhof, 2005), 85–90, but has not yet published all the bibliographic details that would enable the following comparison.

4 Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie*, I, 298–303

5 Streicher, *Canisii Catechismi*, Part. 1: 96–181.

6 A number of Canisius's catechisms were published in duodecimo format or smaller. Within his lifetime, see, for example, CATECHISMVS // SIVE SVMMA // DOCTRINAE CHRI=//STIANAE, // In vsvm Christianæ pueritatæ (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1560); CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICVS // IVENTVTI FORMAN=//dæ hoc sæculo quam maxime //necessarius (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1561), which is a smaller duodecimo; CATECHISMO // CATHOLICO [an Italian translation] (Venice: Michael Tramezino, 1562) and, from the same press, a year later, a Latin edition, both of which are 24<sup>o</sup> format; Der Klain //Catechismus / oder Kur//tze Summa des waren // Christlichen vnd Catholi=//schen Glaubens (Ingolstadt: Alexander and Samuel Weissenhorn, 1563); PARVVS // CATECHIS-//MVS CATHOLICO-//RVM (Cologne: Maternus Cholinus, 1564); PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1570); CATECHIS-//MVS CATHO-//LICVS, // IVENTVTI FORMAN-//DÆ (Ingolstadt: Wolfgang Eder, 1583).

lifetime for which we have bibliographic records, one was quarto, ten were octavo, four were duodecimo, and one was 16°. <sup>7</sup> Again, according to Streicher, there is clear evidence for twenty-one discrete catechisms in German by Canisius, as well as less certain evidence of five more.

While the numbers of editions distinguish Luther's and Canisius's among sixteenth-century catechisms from all but the Heidelberg, the predominance of octavo format is typical. Of the fifty-four discrete editions Osiander published of his catechism, twelve are folio, but more are smaller: nine are quarto, twenty-eight are octavo, and two are duodecimo. <sup>8</sup> Helding published at least one briefer catechism in octavo. <sup>9</sup> Before the Council of Trent decreed a single catechism, which was published in folio format, William Lindan, Georg Witzel, and the Diocese of Reims published catechisms in octavo. <sup>10</sup> After the Council of Trent, popular Catholic catechisms were still published in smaller formats: Canisius's *Catechisms* in octavo, duodecimo, and 16° were published without interruption well into the seventeenth century. The Bohemian Brethren published their catechism in octavo format. <sup>11</sup> Locally popular catechisms, such as Leo Jud's catechism for Zurich and Johannes Meckhart's catechism for Augsburg, which were reissued year after year and ultimately disappeared as Churches defined their core texts, were published in octavo. <sup>12</sup>

The octavo format was not new to the sixteenth century. Medieval codices teaching the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the seven deadly sins, the Ave Maria and other prayers, in combination or singly, had been written by hand and printed in octavo format. <sup>13</sup> Nor was it simply multiple editions. Dietrich Colde's *Mirror for Christians*, a "handbook which contains all that is necessary for the soul's blessedness", was one of the most popular late medieval

7 Streicher, *Canisii Catechismi*, Part 2: 16–33.

8 Gottfried Seebaß, *Bibliographia Osiandrica: Bibliographie der gedruckten Schriften Andreas Osianders d.Ä. (1496–1552)* (Nieuwkoop, 1971), 67–97.

9 Michael Helding, BREVIS // INSTITVTIO AD CHRISTIA=//nam Pietatem, secundum Doctrinam // Catholicam continens (Mainz: Schoeffer, 1550).

10 William Lindan, CATECHISME // OV SOMMAIRE DE LA // foy & debuoir du vray Chrestien, // selon la doctrine Euangelique, // & sens de l'Eglise : & anciens // Docteurs d'icelle (Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1561); Georg Witzel, CATECHISMVS // ECCLESIAE (Cologne: Johannes Quentels, 1555); Archdiocese of Reims, Catechisme (Paris: V. Sertenas, 1561).

11 Catechismus // Der Rechtgleubigen Be=//hemischen Brueder (n.p., 1555).

12 For example, Leo Jud, Der groesser // Catechismus (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [1534]); Johannes Meckhart, CATECHISMVS (Augsburg; Philipp Ulhart, 1557).

13 P. Eginio Weidenhiller, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetische Literatur des späten Mittelalters* (Munich, 1965).

devotional texts.<sup>14</sup> In the modern critical edition, published in 1954, the editor, Clemens Drees, argued for a 'predecessor', of 1470, which he includes in the volume, as well as a series of editions, some thirty in number, published before the *Isagoge* appeared, which differ not only in language (Low and High German, Dutch, Latin), but in title, length, and even textual content.<sup>15</sup>

The effort to establish a single normative text, from which other texts deviate, does distinguish sixteenth-century catechisms from their predecessors. Erasmus famously called for a single, definitive text, of the Greek New Testament. Before then, such textual stability was not a concern—as Colde's *Mirror*, in its many variations, suggests. In his preface to his *Enchiridion*, Luther explicitly called for a stable text, not simply of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed, but also of the explanation of those texts.<sup>16</sup> In his preface to what would come to be called the Heidelberg Catechism, Elector Friedrich III gave as one reason for its publication variations in texts as well as teaching.<sup>17</sup> The numbers of sixteenth-century catechisms are evidence of an expanding concern to stabilize both the wording of ancient and familiar prayer, commandment, and creed and the sentences catechumens were to learn to explain their meaning—as well as to place the same text in many hands.

The proliferation of octavo codices is also evidence of a deep shift in the place of the codex in devotional life in the sixteenth century. It was not so much placing codices in the hands of laity—the medieval Church had called

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14 "Hier beghint een schoen spiegel der kersten menschen welck si altoes bi hem draghen sullen voer een hantboexken (sic), want hier in besloten is alle dat noet is te weten totter zielen salicheit", *Der Christenspiegel des Dietrich Kolde von Münster*, ed. Clemens Drees (Paderborn, 1954), 33. For a modern translation of the *Mirror*, see Denis Janz, *Three Reformation Catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran* (New York, 1982), 29–130. Janz, following Christoph Moufang, considers the *Mirror* a catechism, though it is neither organized in a question and answer format nor intended for children, and contains lessons, such as how one discerns a good Christian, which were not usually a part of catechetical instruction. See Christoph Moufang, *Katholische Katechismen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts in deutscher Sprache* (Hildesheim, 1964 (1881)).

15 *Der Christenspiegel*, on editions, see 15–43; for the argument that different versions are the same work, see 44–90. Drees designates the edition of 1470 as a 'Vorläufer', 16.

16 Martin Luther, "Der Kleine Katechismus 1529," *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, vol. 30, 1 (Weimar, 1910), 268–69.

17 Catechismus // oder // Christliche Unterrichts // wie der in Kirchen und Schu=//len der Churfürstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), esp. at 9–11.

for parents and godparents to foster the education of children, and some texts, such as Colde's *Mirror*, were explicitly for the laity. Indeed, for Luther as much as for the medieval Church, catechesis was best placed in the hands of an educated clergy. But the relationship among codex, hand, and person changed in a world torn asunder, as different sovereigns carved up the ancient landscape of Christendom into discrete Churches of specific jurisdictional boundaries. In a world of persecution, clandestine churches, and exile, an octavo codex could be hidden, held in a hand in prison or along the side of a road, in a valley, a forest, a mountain pass. Printed objects became a key medium in the formation of communities. As John Calvin so explicitly recognized in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, readers might belong to a community physically dispersed. Multiple copies of the same text, or texts, such as Luther's *German Catechism*, pirated and adapted for use in different places, materially united persons living in mountain valleys and hidden in cities.

Within that world, the codex became something different. In the sixteenth century, the codex might contain a Christianity both locally illegal and absolutely true for the person holding the codex. Thus the words spoken aloud from the codex did not necessarily place the reader within his or her geographically local Church. The words existed in a different relationship to each reader's surroundings—perhaps affirming the locally instituted Church, as the Strasbourg *Isagoge* did, perhaps affirming a Church illegal in much of Europe, as the Heidelberg Catechism did. In speaking the words aloud, a reader might be speaking within a physical structure symbolizing 'the community of the faithful' or in a community forbidden any place to worship. The reader might be reading with the help of one more learned, whether priest, minister, or schoolmaster—the preferred use in most, if not all catechisms—but, increasingly over the century, the codex could be held in exile or within a clandestine Church.<sup>18</sup> Increasingly over the century, the hand that held the codex could not be taken as physically located within a spatially contiguous Church. Indeed, some catechisms explicitly recognized that their words were constituting a 'Church' with no building, no place where it was legal—a Church that resided in persons, not places or buildings.

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18 For one study that locates catechesis within schools, see Christine Absmeier, *Das schlesische Schulwesen im Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Stuttgart, 2011), 110–28.

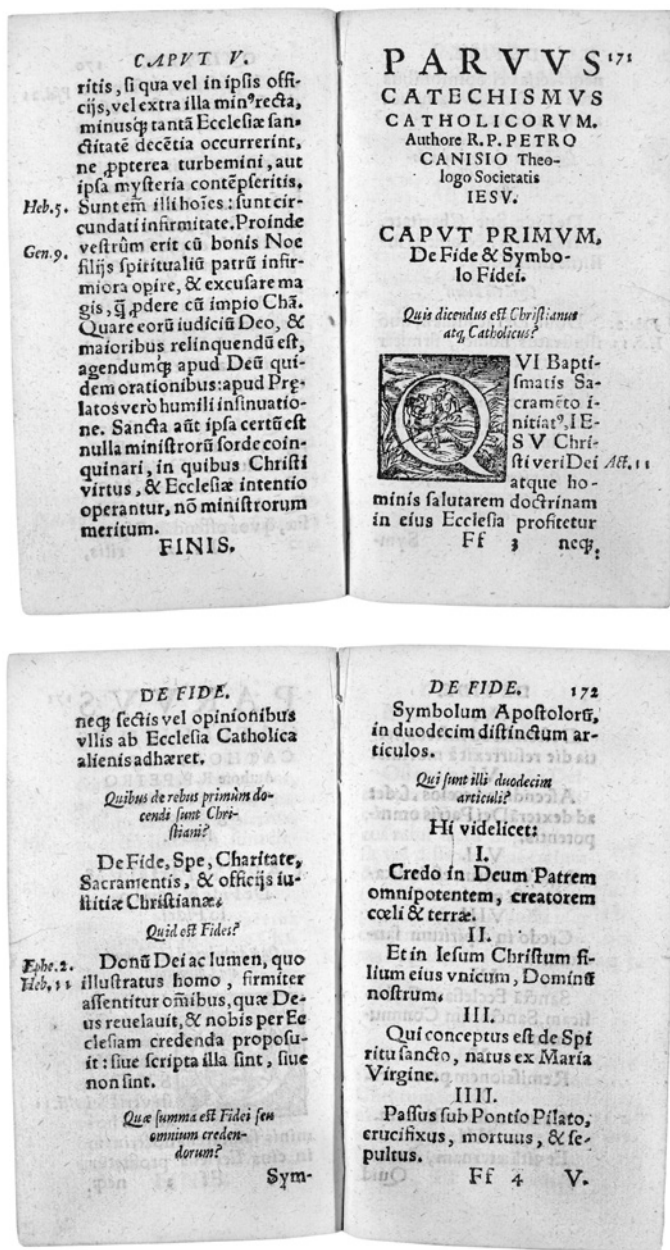


FIGURE 7A-B Peter Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM, in Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae // recte instituendae... // ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=// tholicorum, authore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1564), 171<sup>r-v</sup>–172. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



## The Spatial Logic of the Codex

The codex was an ancient form, emerging between the second and fourth centuries.<sup>19</sup> In the Christian tradition, codices opened right to left; pages were to be turned, right to left; each page was to be read left to right and top to bottom. That ancient spatial logic was the material foundation of catechetical learning in the sixteenth century (Figs. 7a–b).<sup>20</sup>

Prior to the sixteenth century, the texts of catechesis had been learned aurally and orally—listening and repeating aloud. Priests may have followed a printed or manuscript text, but many, if sixteenth-century critics are any indication, did not. Nor did the authors of late medieval catechetical texts, such as Colde, direct their readers to follow the sequence of the physical placement of texts on pages. Quite the contrary, many encouraged their readers to use the codex differently, to enter at will different places at different times—its analogue may have been the Book of Hours.<sup>21</sup> Authors of sixteenth-century catechisms drew on the codex's spatial logic, binding reader and printed object in a process, the intent of which was the reader's coming to embody knowledge essential to Christianity.<sup>22</sup> The spatial sequence of the codex structured the temporal sequence of learning. Their readers were not simply to learn the words on the page. They were to follow them. Some, such as Holding and Calvin, explicitly anchored the text to time. Holding's sermons begin on Laetare Sunday, in Lent, and end on Judica Sunday, at the beginning of Passiontide. Beginning in 1549, Calvin divided his catechisms into Sundays, his final catechism to be taught over 55 Sundays (Fig. 8).<sup>23</sup> Many authors recognized that the codex might itself be not only the means, but also the site for learning Christianity. In keeping with their logic, this chapter follows the spatial sequence of catechetical codices.

19 Michael F. Suarez, S.J. and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Book*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2010), 618.

20 Petrus Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM, in Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte instituendae ...// ACCESSIT IN HAC //editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum, autore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1564).

21 Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400–1600* (Cambridge, 2012).

22 The following is based upon reading the sixteenth-century catechisms listed in the Bibliography.

23 John Calvin, LE CATE- // CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549).

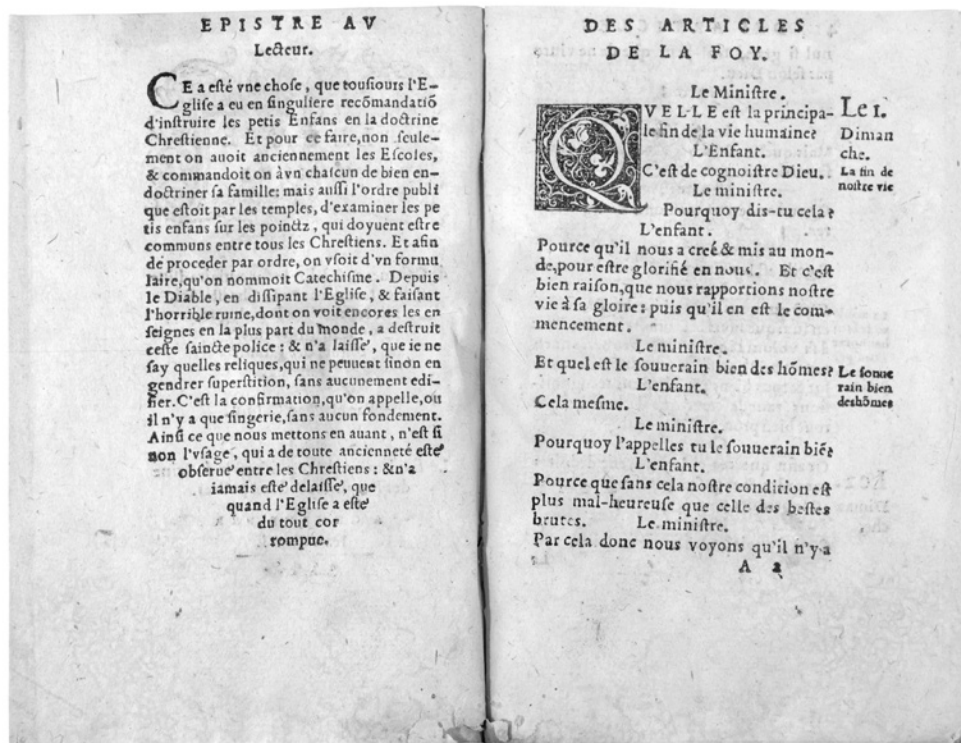


FIGURE 8 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephes. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), A2. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## Title Pages

In the sixteenth century, the word “catechism” appeared on the title page of a range of texts (Fig. 9).<sup>24</sup> The word did not define a particular kind of text, a particular format, a particular size, a particular arrangement of text on the page. Luis de Granada, for example, titled *Catechism* an 826-page, quarto format,

24 Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben / // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt / // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.). On modern titles and their location in relationship to the text, see Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris, 1987), 54–97.



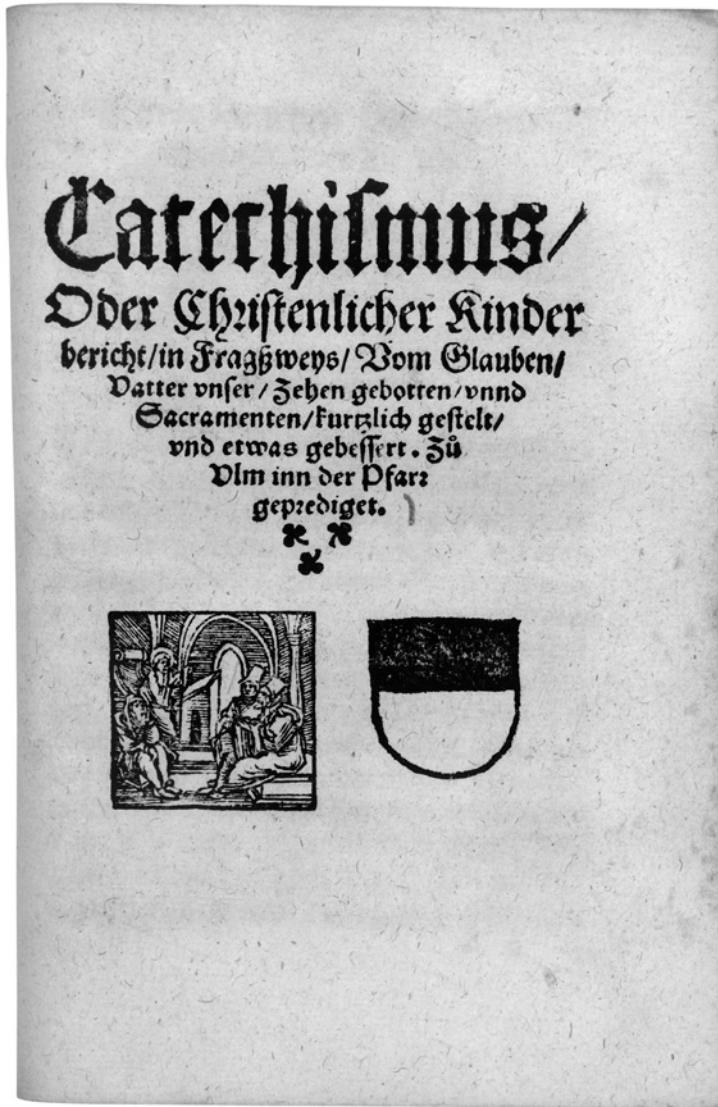


FIGURE 9 *Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), title page. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

detailed documentation for the teachings of the Catholic Church, documentation that might serve as a reference, might come to inform priests in their instruction of children.<sup>25</sup> Friedrich Nausea, Bishop of Vienna, invoked an older tradition of catechetical instruction with his *Catholic Catechism*: folio in format, just over 650 pages, it was intended for priests' hands, to inform them so that they might instruct.<sup>26</sup> Some works, such as *The A, B, C or Christian Instruction for Small Children*, were intended for the religious instruction of children, but were not intended to be recited until the words were a part of the person.<sup>27</sup> All three have less in common with what we now consider a 'catechism' than with the *Summae pietatis*, which also proliferated in the sixteenth century, summaries "of piety", with detailed explications and scriptural references.<sup>28</sup> None was structured to lead the reader to come to embody the text.

It is not their size that separates these texts from the majority of codices titled *Catechism*. The word defined no particular size, be it format or number of pages. As we have seen, octavo was prevalent, but *Catechism* appeared on folios, quarto, duodecimo and smaller formats. Spangenberg's popular adaptation of Luther's *German Catechism*, *The Large Catechism and Doctrine for Children*, runs to more than 500 pages,<sup>29</sup> while Johannes Brenz's *Catechism* contains seven pages of text in a slender pamphlet.<sup>30</sup>

25 Luis de Granada, CATECHISMVS // IN SYMBOLVM // FIDEI (Venice: Damian Zenarius, 1586).

26 CATHOLICVS CATECHISMVS. // FRIDERICI // NAVSEAE BLANCI=// CAMPIANI, EPISCOPI VIENNENSIS, IN=// uictissimi Cæsaris &c. FERDINANDI à sacris // studijs & Consilijs, in catholicum Catechi=// smum libri sex. // AD SACROSANCTAE CATHOLICAE //ecclesiae, eiusdemqz fidei, pietatis & religionis reparationem, au=//ctionem & conseruationem. // VNIVERSIS ECCLESIASTIS NON // modo profuturi, sed & pernecessarij (Cologne: Quentelian, 1543).

27 F. I. Pierre de Ravillan, LA,B,C, // OV INSTRVCTION // CHRESTIENNE // pour les petits en-//fans. // Reueue par venerables docteurs en Theologie. // AVEC // L'Instruction Chrestienne de F. I. Pier-//re de Rauillan. // MATH. X. // Laissez les petits enfans venire à moy : car à // tells est le Royaume de Dieu (Antwerp: Christoph Plantin, 1558).

28 See, for example, Pedro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NÆ CATHOLICÆ, // in vsum plebis Christianæ// recte instituendæ. . . // Additus cuiqz loco aptis precatiuncu-// lis : & adiuncta breui explicatione sa-//cræ Missæ : nunc denuò ab eo-//dem Autore ampliori ex-//plicatione locuple=//tatum (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1564), which included one version of Peter Canisius's catechism.

29 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset (Wittenberg: Georg Rau, 1541).

30 Johannes Brenz, CATE-//CHISMVS PRO//IVVENTVTE HAL=//lensi (Nuremberg: Johannes Petri, 1541).

Some, like the author of the Strasbourg *Catechism*, used the title page also to stipulate precisely which texts were encompassed, since, as we have seen in the case of the *Isagoge* from the same city, different authors did not agree as to which texts were constitutive of Christian identity (See Fig. 16). Often, listing the contents revealed which Christian Church's doctrine the catechism was teaching. If the title page listed only two sacraments, or named the sacrament of the Eucharist the Holy Supper, if the Lord's Prayer was the only prayer included—any of these signaled an Evangelical catechism, just as, conversely, listing the Ave Maria, special prayers, cardinal sins or theological virtues signaled a Catholic catechism. Absences—of many of late medieval devotional practices, from the articulation of sins and virtues to prayers dedicated to the Virgin or saints, as well as the sacraments of ordination, marriage, and extreme unction—announced from the title page that this text was likely to be Evangelical. The inclusion of one or more of these on a title page announced that the text was likely to be a Catholic catechism. In at least one case, however, the listing of topics was not a transparent signal of the direction of the catechism. Pierre de Ravillan published two catechisms, one for children and one dedicated to “Madame Catherine Gambalee”, *Christian Instruction Containing the Declaration of the Symbol of the Apostles, the Ten Commandments of the Law, the Lord's Prayer, On Baptism, On Confession, on Our Lord Jesus Christ's Supper*—a title which suggests, in the inclusion of Confession and the Supper, Lutheran affiliation, but which rests upon a text that counts the Ten Commandments according to Calvin's numbering.<sup>31</sup>

The title page of the anonymous Strasbourg *Catechism* also makes explicit its imagined readerships—the people of Strasbourg and those “somewhere else”, “anderswa”. Sometimes those catechisms did travel. The Augsburg printer, Philipp Ulhart, published a catechetical sermon that had been delivered in Ulm and first published there.<sup>32</sup> The Heidelberg Catechism's original title page, *Catechism or Christian Instruction, as is Cultivated in the Churches and Schools*

31 F. I. Pierre de Ravillan, INSTRVCTION // CHRESTIENNE, //CONTENANT LA DECLARATION // Du Symbole des Apostres, // Des dix commandemens de la loy. // De l'oraison Dominicale. // Du baptesme, De la confession, & // De la cene de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ.//... A MADAME CATHERINE // GAMBALEE (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1558).

32 Catechismus - // Oder christlicher kinder // bericht / in fragßweiß / vom Glaubē // Vatter vnser / Zehen Gebotten / vnd Sa=//cramenten / kurtzlich gestalt vnnd ett=//was gebessert / Zuo Vlm inn der // Pfarr geprediget (Ulm: Hans Varnier der Älter, 1546); Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben / // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt / // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.).

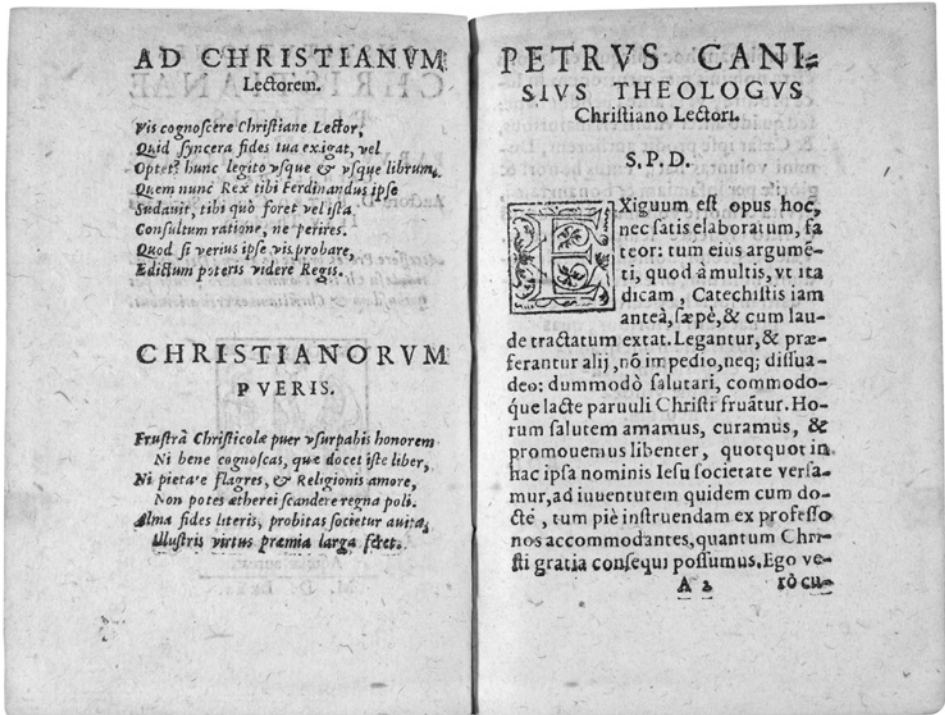


FIGURE 10 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), A<sup>v</sup>–A<sub>2</sub>. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

of the Palatinate,<sup>33</sup> described where it was being taught, but as it was published for Dutch and other Reformed congregations, the text carried a number of different titles, such as *The Christian Catechism* in Peter Dathenus's *Psalter*.<sup>34</sup>

Nor did the title *Catechism* appear on all texts intended to be learned such that the reader could speak the words from memory and containing two or more of texts held to be essential: the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments. Edmund Bonner titled one of his *An Honest Godly Instruction and Information for the Training and Bringing Up of Children*.<sup>35</sup> Matthew Zell

33 Catechismus // oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie der in Kirchen und Schu=//len der Churfürstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563).

34 Peter Dathenus, *DE PSALMEN // DAVIDS, // ENDE ... // Metgaeders den Christelicken Ca-//techismo, Ceremonien ende // Ghebeden* (Heidelberg: Michiel Chiraet, 1566).

35 Edmund Bonner, *An honest godley // instruction, and infor=//mation for the tradynge, and // bringing up of Children* [London: Robert Caly, 1555].

used the title page to describe the method we now associate with the title, *Question and Answer, on the Articles of Christian Belief*,<sup>36</sup> as did Spangenberg for another of his catechisms, *Main Articles of True Christian Teaching, Set to Questions*.<sup>37</sup>

### Prefaces, Letters to Readers and Other Prefatory Paratexts

When the reader turned the title page, some catechisms contained dedications, prefaces, letters to readers, or other paratexts that preceded the text of the catechism itself (Fig. 10).<sup>38</sup> A number used a letter or preface to speak to parents, schoolmasters, or pastors, exhorting them to educate children in the texts that followed. Luther used the relatively new device of the preface to tell pastors how to use his text with children and other “simple folk”:

To begin with, teach them these parts: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc., following the text word for word, so that they can repeat it back to you and learn it by heart.

*The Enchiridion*<sup>39</sup>

The Evangelical pastors of Augsburg addressed a ten-page letter to parents, “that they earnestly hold to teaching and raising their children in Christian doctrine and virtue”, drawing upon metaphors of plants to present an image of lives formed in the reading of those texts that follow the letter in the codex.<sup>40</sup> A four-page preface accompanied John Calvin's 1545 *Genevan Catechism*; in

36 Mattheus Zell, *Frag vnd ant=//wort / auff die Artickel des // Christlichen Glaubens / wie die ge=// meyniglich inn einer sum\_ / vnnd von // meniglich zum heyl bekent werdē // sollen / zuo einer erkläerung der // selbigē / für die Kinder* (Strasbourg: Balthasar Beck, n.d.).

37 Johannes Spangenberg, *Heubtartickel // reiner Christlicher lere / // frage weise gestellet* (Wittenberg: Georg Rau, 1540).

38 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575). Cf. Genette, *Seuils*, 150–270.

39 Martin Luther, “The Small Catechism,” in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 348.

40 *Catechismus / // Das ist / ain anfencklicher bericht der Christ//lichen Religion vō den Dienern des Euan=//gelions zuo Augspurg / für die Jugent // auff das kürztzest verfasst // vnnd beschriben* [1533].

the 1549 French version, the preface was a single page, calling for children not simply to be taught Christian doctrine, but to be examined in it, following the order “which one calls catechism”, and which followed the page immediately.<sup>41</sup> Canisius sometimes included a letter to the Christian reader and in his *Institutiones*, he also included two poems, one addressing the Christian reader, one addressing boys (Fig. 10).

Some authors used prefatory paratexts to argue that those texts were ancient and essential to Christianity. Johannes Meckhart addressed Christian readers and schoolmasters, placing his catechism, as had Luther, in a line of descent from the apostles; Meckhart also traced that line through specific Church Fathers, constructing a trajectory from Peter to his own text.<sup>42</sup> In his letter to his Christian reader, Kaspar Schwenckfeld isolated the texts from sixteenth-century polemics: “you have an impartial booklet in which you can discover how one comes to Christ through the correct medium in this present division of faith... for within this are contained the preeminent parts of our Christian faith, summarized and indicated”.<sup>43</sup>

### The Look of the Page

Luther was most explicit in telling his readers exactly how he wished his text to be used, but many authors used type font, spacing, the arrangement of words and sentences on the page—the very look of the page itself—to structure reading practices. Johannes Meckhart’s *Catechism* was relatively brief: 44 pages of text. Meckhart nonetheless broke his text into segments, easily read and repeated—which may help to explain its popularity, its repeated printings and widespread use in Augsburg (Fig. 11).<sup>44</sup> Calvin’s earliest catechisms,

41 John Calvin, LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c’est à dire le formulaire d’in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l’Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l’Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), A1-v.

42 Johannes Meckhart, CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ-//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Aii r-v.

43 Kaspar Schwenckfeld, Catechismus von ettlich-//en Hauptartikeln des Christlichen Glaubens / vnd // vom Grund und anfang der Seelen seligkait (Augsburg: Silvan Ottmar, 1531), Ai<sup>r-v</sup>.

44 Johannes Meckhart, CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ-//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557).



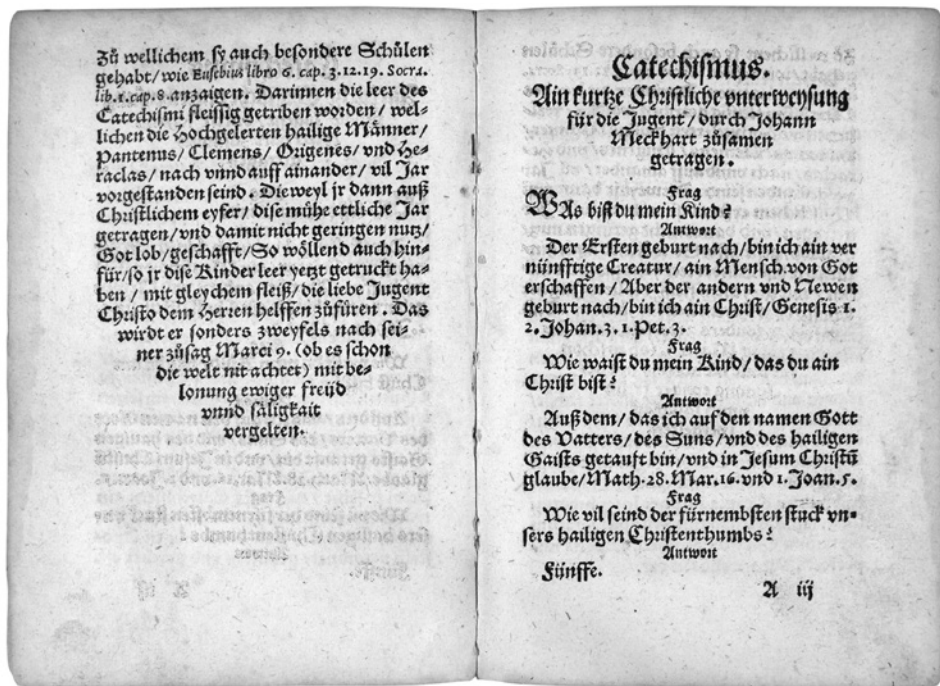


FIGURE 11 Johannes Meckhart, *CATECHISMVS*. // *Ain kurtze Christ-//liche Leer und unterweysung // für die Jugent* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Aii<sup>r</sup>–Aiii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

which evolved into *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, were not organized in this way, but his Genevan Catechisms were.<sup>45</sup>

Type size was used to differentiate texts on the page (Fig. 12). In Luther's *German Catechism*, Meckhart's *Catechism*, some editions of Calvin's *Genevan Catechism*, a number of Canisius's *Catechisms*, and the *Heidelberg Catechism*, texts that were to be found in Scripture were printed in larger font. Within the codex, they are singularly visible—in different proportion to the space of the page, visibly different from the rhythms of question and answer. One can find them quickly, as Luther encouraged his readers to do, to refresh memory. But

45 On Calvin's first catechism, see I. John Hesselink, *Calvin's First Catechism: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY, 1997). On the evolution of the *Institutes* and its relationship to Calvin's catechisms, see Richard Müller, "Establishing the *Ordo docendi*: The Organization of Calvin's *Institutes*, 1536–1559," *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford, 2000), 118–39.



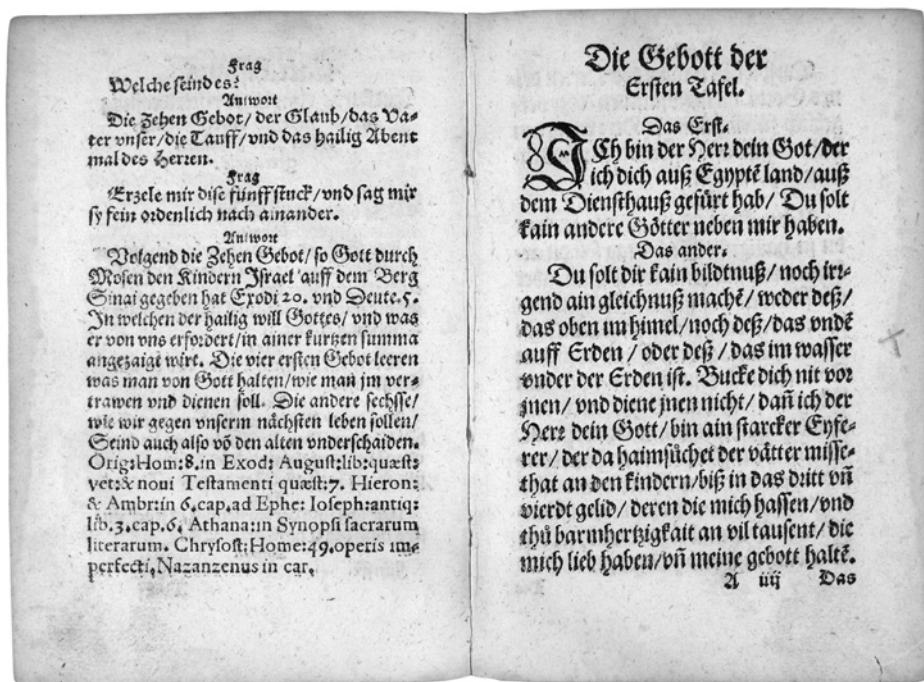


FIGURE 12 Johannes Meckhart, *CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ-//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Aiii<sup>r</sup>–Aiiii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

they also signal, with the visual language of size, that these are discrete texts—these are words that belong together, integral, and apart from the other words on the page. These words are, as the catechumen learned as s/he progressed through the codex, divine—eternal, eternally true, absolute, and ‘Christian’. Speaking them, learning them by heart, coming to embody them was to “know” Scripture in a different way than study would bring.

Schwenckfeld’s text was broken into blocks, each block opening with a question and the answer following immediately after—there was no spacing between question and answer, no distinguishing of two discrete voices (Fig. 13).<sup>46</sup> His text allows us to see better the choices other authors made. Meckhart did not simply break the text into smaller segments. Questions

46 Kaspar Schwenckfeld, *Catechismus von ettlich=//en Hauptartikeln des Christlichen Glaubens / vnd // vom Grund und anfang der Seelen seligkait* (Augsburg: Silvan Ottmar, 1531).

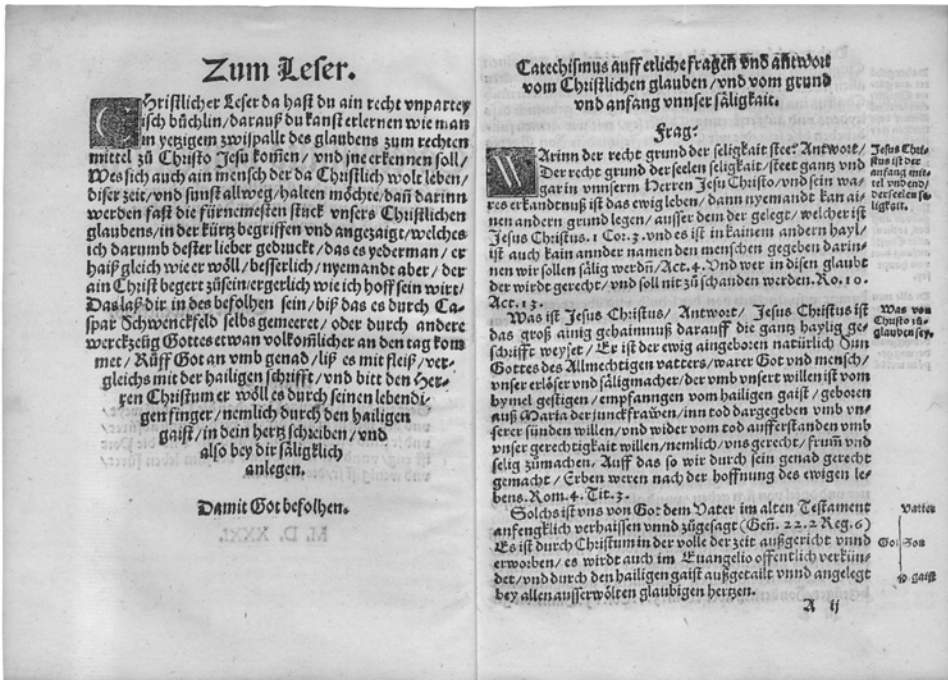


FIGURE 13 Kaspar Schwenckfeld, *Catechismus von etlich=//en Hauptartikeln des Christlichen Glaubens / vnd // vom Grund und anfang der Seelen seligkeit* (Augsburg: Silvan Ottmar, 1531), Aii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

were separated from answers. Each segment of text was preceded, in a smaller font, by one word, either “question” (Frag) or “answer” (Antwort), centered, themselves marking a space separating texts. Urbanus Rhegius used capitals to identify “student” (Discipulus) and “teacher” (Pædag.).<sup>47</sup> Calvin, Brenz and Canisius used italic type font to distinguish questions; answers were printed in non-italic font. Their catechisms drew on type font’s particular visualities to signal the difference between the prompt and the text a catechumen would, at the end of the process, be able to voice “by heart”.

47 Urbanus Rhegius, *CATECHIS//MVS MINOR PVERVM* (Halle: Peter Brubach, 1536).

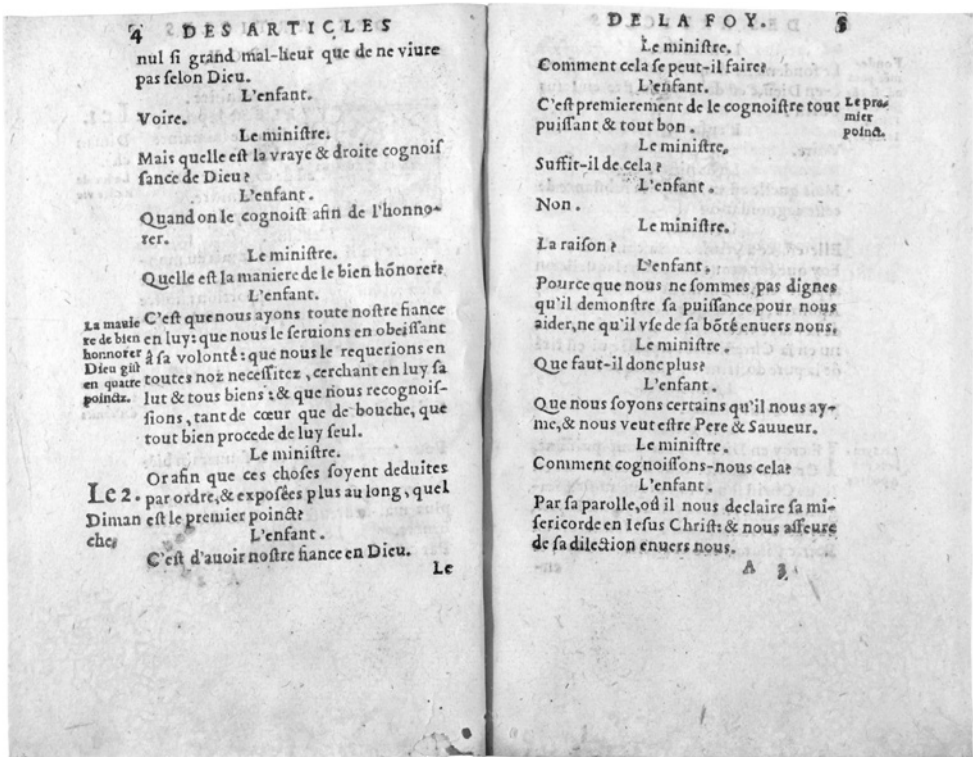


FIGURE 14 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), A2<sup>r</sup>–A3. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## Question and Answer

Student (Discipulus)

Attentive teacher, what is a catechism?

Teacher (Praeceptor).

It is the compendium of the learning of that which concerns the Christian faith.

Student.

Who is a catechumen?

Teacher.

They are students, who receive the rudiments of the Christian faith, from the Greek word *κατεχέω*, that is, instructed but not yet learned.

Student.  
 Who are the catechists?  
 Teacher.  
 They are those who teach the catechism.  
 Student.  
 Of what religion are you?  
 Teacher.  
 I am of the Christian religion.  
 Student.  
 From what cause?  
 Teacher.  
 Because I believe in Jesus Christ and I was baptized in the name of Jesus  
 Christ.  
 Johannes Brenz, *Catechismus* (1538)<sup>48</sup>

Qvæstio.  
 Cuius est religionis? Responsio. Sum Christianæ religionis.  
 Qvæstio.  
 Quam ob causam? Responsio. Quia credo in IESVM Christum, et in nomine  
 IESV Christi baptisatus sum.  
 Johannes Brenz, *Catechismus pro Iuventute Hallensis* (1541)<sup>49</sup>

Question: Are you a Christian?

Answer: Yes, I am one.

Question: How do you know this?

Answer: From this, that I believe in the Word of God and have been baptized  
 in the name of Christ.

*Catechismus. . . Zu Ulm inn der Pfarr geprediget* (n.d.)<sup>50</sup>

48 Johannes Brenz, CATECHIS//MVS IOANNIS BRENTII PER //modum Dialogi concinna=//  
 tus. // ITEM CALENDARIVM ANTE // octo annos natum & æditum, // nunc rursum prælo  
 redditum (Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart, 1538), Aii r-v.

49 Joannes Brenz, CATE-//CHISMVS PRO//IVVENTVTE HAL=//lensi (Nuremberg: Johannes  
 Petreius, 1541), A3v.

50 Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben /  
 // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt / // vnd etwas  
 gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), Aii.

## Question

What are you, my child?

## Answer

By the first birth, I am a rational creature, a human being created by God. But by the other and new birth, I am a Christian. Genesis 1. 2. Johan.3. 1. Pet.3.

Johannes Meckhart, *Catechismus* (1557)<sup>51</sup>

## Who may be called Christian?

He who professes [profitetur] the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ, true God and man, in his Church. Who also repudiates all laws and sects which are outside the teachings of Christ and his Church, wherever they may be found among peoples, whether Jewish, Muslim, or heretics, damns and detests inwardly, who is a true Christian and reposes firmly in Christ's doctrine.

Peter Canisius, *Summa doctrinae christianae* (1555)<sup>52</sup>

## Question. Who is a Christian human being?

Answer: whoever believes in Jesus Christ, the true Messiah, and living Son of God, our Lord, and was baptized in water, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

*Ain Christlicher rainer Catechismus*<sup>53</sup>

In modern usage, 'catechesis' invokes questions and set answers. And yet, many, many medieval catechetical texts were not organized in that way. They were designed to function differently, as a source for priests—or parents or godparents—a kind of reference for instruction that was not explicitly scripted, but guided by a text. The sixteenth century set the practice of printing question and answer on the page. By the end of the century, the catechisms of Luther

51 Johannes Meckhart, CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ=//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Aiii.

52 Peter Canisius, SVMMA // DOCTRINAE // CHRISTIANAE.// Per Quaestionestrada, et in vsum// Christianae pueritiae nunc pri-//mum edita (Vienna, 1555), 1.

53 [Johannes Faber], Ain Christen//licher / rainer // Catechismus. // Das ist / bericht und under=//weysung der glaubigē / der Jugent // sehr guot / nutz / troestlich / und zuo // wissen von noeten / gantz kurtz // und trewlich durch ain // fridliebenden be=//schriben (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), Aiii.



and Canisius, and the Genevan (Fig. 14) and Heidelberg Catechisms all taught through a method of question and answer printed on the pages of a codex.

The structuring of texts in question and answer was not new—arguably it goes back at least to Plato's dialogues. And there were catechisms prior to the sixteenth century which had been structured in question and answer, such as the Waldensian catechism of 1498 that influenced the catechism of the Bohemian Brethren, which in turn influenced Luther.<sup>54</sup> Nor were all catechisms in the sixteenth century organized in question and answer.<sup>55</sup> Holding, Osiander, and Nicolaus Gallus published catechetical sermons—a much older form of catechesis.<sup>56</sup> A catechism attributed to Bonifatius Wolfart, as well as at least one anonymous catechism continued the format of medieval catechetical tables.<sup>57</sup>

54 Gerhard von Zezschwitz links the catechisms of the Waldensians and the Bohemian Brethren, *Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmisches Brüder als Documente ihres wechselseitigen Lehraustauschen* (Amsterdam, 1967 (Erlangen, 1863)). The dating of the Catechism is Zezschwitz's, 11. On the import of the Kinderfragen der böhmischen Brüder for Luther's use of question and answer, see Ferdinand Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1900), ch. 2. On the evolution of the quaestio within universities, see B.C. Bazàn, et al., *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine* (Turnhout, 1985). On the evolution of the question as a written form, Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia, 2009), 133.

55 A catechism which the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek attributes to Johannes Brenz, containing a dedicatory epistle and an epilogue by Thomas Venetius, comprises six dialogues, without the question and answer form, between six different pairs, CATECHIS//MVS MINOR. // Hoc est de instituenda iuuentute in // fide Christiana. Dialogi VI (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1535). The majority of Brenz's catechisms, however, are organized in question and answer. Leo Jud's Short Catechism was also formatted as a dialogue without questions, Leo Jud, *Der kurtzer // Catechismus* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1538).

56 Nicolaus Gallus, CATECHIS=//MVS // Predigsweise gestelt / für die kirche zu Regenspurg / zum // Methodo / das ist / ordentlicher // summa Christlicher lere / wi=//der allerlei newerung vnd // verfelschung (Regensburg: Hans Khol, 1554).

57 [Bonifatius Wolfart], *Catechismus* // // Das ist / ain anfencklicher bericht der Christ//lichen Religion vñ den Dienern des Euan=//gelions zuo Augspurg / für die Jugent // auff das kurtzest verfasst // vnnd beschriben. // 1533 // 1. Petri. 3. // Seind allezeit vrbütig zur verantwortung yeder // man / dem der grund forderet der hoffnung die in // euch ist / vnd das mit sefftmuettigkait und forcht (N.p.: n.p., 1533); CATECHIS=//MVS CATE=//CHISMORVM. // APHORISMI PLANE // aurei, De instituenda // *Adolescentia Christiana* (Frankfurt: Christian Egenolff, 1547).

That said, the great majority of catechisms published in the sixteenth century were organized in question and answer: the catechisms of Augsburg, Emden, Louvain, Strasbourg, and Ulm; by Brenz, Luther, Meckhart, Urbanus Rhegius, Spangenberg, Erasmus Sarcerius, Johannes Oecolampadius, Jud, Martin Bucer, Matthias Zell, Wolfgang Capito, Calvin, Théodore de Bèze, Heinrich Bullinger, Jan Laski, Marten Micron, Edmond Auger, Canisius, Gaspar Contarini, Johannes Faber; the Heidelberg Catechism; and the catechism of the Church of England. Luther's *German Catechism* is a striking outlier in this, but it, like Summae, was intended as a different kind of source for catechesis, its preface articulating a relationship of one remove between codex and catechumen. The sixteenth century witnessed a quantitative shift to questions and answers, as with codex and print, as that mode by which the young and the unlearned were to come to embody those texts that, the printed object before was teaching them, were essential to being a 'Christian'.

Some, such as Brenz in his *Catechism* of 1538 and Leo Jud in his *Larger Catechism*,<sup>58</sup> ascribed the question to the student and the answer to the teacher. Some, such as Brenz in his 1541 Catechism for the youth of Schwäbisch Hall, the catechism preached in Ulm, or Johannes Faber's *Catechism*, did not stipulate. But most scripted questions for the catechist and answers for the catechumen.

Printing question and answer on the page scripted a dialogue, in most cases between a learned interrogator and the catechumen, who was to speak the answer. In some ways, the scripting of question and answer invited oral performance: one speaking the questions aloud, the other, the answers. And, as we have seen, a number of catechisms spatialized the text to mark different parts, different voices. In some ways, the page was itself the prompt for a performance that could be repeated at will.

But catechesis was not a play. The words on the pages were "what a Christian needed to know", essential, definitive knowledge. The questions and answers facilitated the process of coming to embody that knowledge—quite possibly through the affiliation with drama and the vitality of the dialectic—but the knowledge was constitutive of the person speaking the printed text. Page after page presented a verbal dialectic of prompt and text to be embodied.

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58 Leo Jud, *Der groesser // Catechismus // Christliche klare vnd einfalte // ynleitung in den Willen vn̄ in die Gnad // Gottes / darinn nit nun die Jugeſt sunder ouch // die Eltern vnderriht / wie sy jre kind in den // gebotten Gottes / in Christlichem glou=//ben / und rechtem gebaett vnderwy//sen moegind. Geschriben durch // Leonem Jude / diener des // worts der kilchen // Zürich. // Marci X.// Lassend die kind zuo mir kommen / dann jro // ist das rych der himmlen.* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [1534]).



Brenz and Philipp Melanchthon, both schoolmasters, simultaneously taught Latin and Christian doctrine in codices for school boys, setting on the page a pedagogic practice they held to be as old as Christianity itself and structuring knowledge of two ancient kinds in the living exchange of human voices. We do not know, how the exiled, the clandestine, or the itinerant might have read these questions and answers, but the page invoked the human voice—a dynamic of prompt and answer from a knowledge that the catechism both contained and, in scripting questions and answers, had been designed to make “by heart”.

That format, a question posed, an answer recited, structured the knowledge of Christianity itself. It divided the fundamental texts by prompts—questions—that frequently sought to teach the “meaning” of the text,<sup>59</sup> framing the text in one way and not another.<sup>60</sup> Some catechisms, as we have seen, first set the full text of the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, sometimes in larger font. But many did not, leading the catechumen through a series of questions and answers, so that s/he learned the text not as a single piece, but in segments, divided according to the meaning, as we shall see, different authors were seeking to fix to the ancient words. The breaks in the text and the questions reinforced one way of understanding the words, at times in explicit repudiation of another.

The text of the catechism itself—sometimes following various prefatory paratexts, sometimes not—began in different ways. Brenz’s shorter catechism for boys (Fig. 15) opened with the strikingly new question, “Of what religion are you?”<sup>61</sup> Some, such as Brenz’s longer *Catechism*, began with definitions of catechism, catechumen, and catechesis, for which Melanchthon offered the longest definition in his *Catechism*.<sup>62</sup> Many more, however, opened with some

59 Luther, for instance, uses this word in his preface.

60 For a discussion of various theories of ‘framing,’ see Werner Wolf, “Introduction: Frames, Framings and Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media,” in *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Studies in Intermediality 1) (Amsterdam, 2006), 1–40.

61 Joannes Brenz, CATE-/CHISMVS PRO//IVVENTVTE HAL=//lensi (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1541), A3<sup>v</sup>.

62 Philipp Melanchthon, “Das kriegisch Woertlin Caticheo heist so viel / als / ich unterweise / oder ich lere. Vorzeiten aber waren in der Christlichen Kirchen nicht allein Bischoff oder Pfarrhern / sondern auch Catechistē / das ist / Unterweiser / deren fuernemlichs ampt war / die Kinder und Jungen zu unterweisen / ehe denn sie getaufft wuerden. Daher wird Catechesis noch heutigs tags genant Eine erste unterweisung / in welcher kurtzlich geleret und fuergeben wird die summa des ganzen Evangelii. Es war aber ein soelche weise zu leren. Die Catechisten oder Unterweiser gaben nicht allein die rechten Lehr für

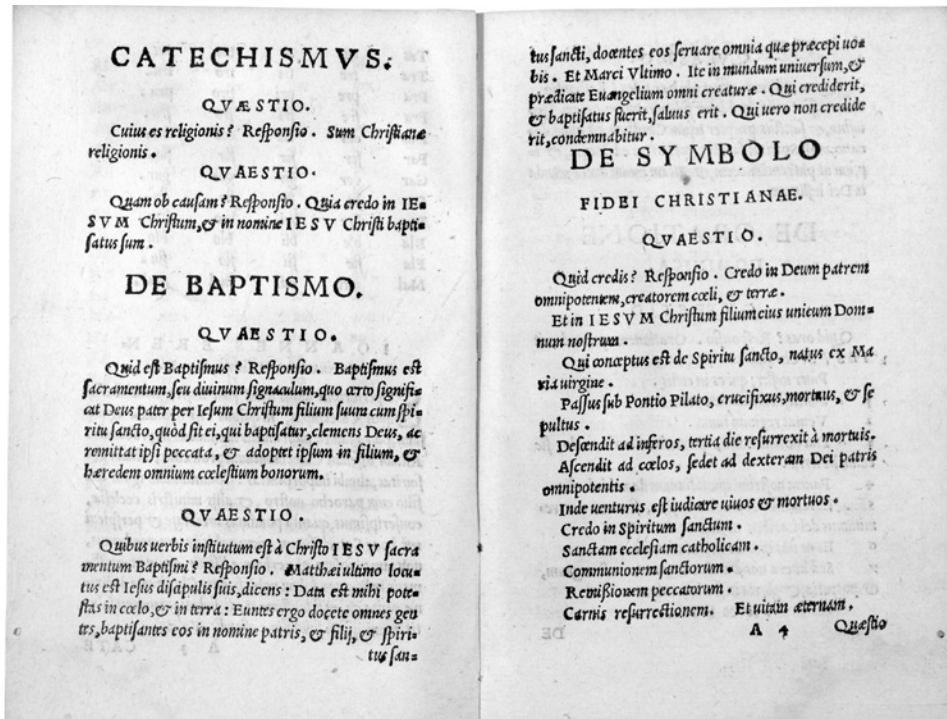


FIGURE 15 Joannes Brenz, *CATECHISMVS PRO INVENTVTE HALIENSIS* (Nuremberg: Johannes Petreius, 1541), A3<sup>v</sup>–A4. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

/ sondern forderten auch wider von den zuhoerern das jenig / so sie inen fürgeben hatten. Welches im leren fuernemlich nutz und gut ist. Denn wenn man auff soelche weise die zuhoerer examiniret / kan man mercken was ein jder verstehe / und kuennen die jenigen / so da irren / vermanet und rechtschaffen unterwiesen werden. Und diese art zu leren / in welcher das jenig so fuergeben ist worden / von den zuhoerern widerumb erfordert wird / mag man heissen / und heisset recht Catechieren / das ist / unterweisen. Und were ein seer nützlich ding / das diese gewonheit in der Kirchen blieb / und man die Unuerstendigen und Groben examinirte und ausforschte / das sie solcher notwendiger sachen einen rechten verstant uberkomen. So ist auch dis nuetz / das man ein einige einfeltige und gewisse form und art der gantzen lehr / und ein gewisse art davon zu reden habe / in der nichts zweifelhaftigs / sondern alles durch und durch der heiligen Schrifft gemes erfunden werde / Wie auch Paulus dem Timotheo gebeut / das er sich halte nach dem Furbild der heilsamen lehr / das ist / nach der rechten form und art. Denn ungleiche und zweifelhaftige art zu reden / Wenn einer ein ding anders denn der ander versteht / machen viel zweispaltungen / gebehren auch offft viel irthumb". Philip Melanchthon, *Catechismus* // Das ist/ ein Kinderlehr/ ... aus dem Latein ins Deutsch gebracht/ durch Gaspar Bruschen Poeten [Leipzig, 1544] Avi–Avii.

variation of the question: what is a Christian? While Meckhart offered the simplest definition—perhaps because Augsburg was a biconfessional city—most others, like Luther, linked the texts their catechisms taught to their definitions of ‘Christian’.

Perhaps most striking on so many of those first pages was the linking of a definition of “Christian” with the verb, “believe”, or, in the case of Canisius, “profess” (a verb that, like “confess”, became both subjectively and legally significant in the religious violence and political persecutions of the sixteenth century)—active verbs which were to attach to the catechumen (See Figs. 4, 7a, and 15). Different catechisms linked “Christian”, “believe”, and the texts they contained differently in the physicality of the codex—as we can see in the anonymous Strasbourg catechism (Fig. 16).<sup>63</sup> But many opened with a definition of a Christian that leads—in the spatial logic of the codex—to texts that the catechumen was to learn “by heart”, in order that he or she become the “Christian” the first page defined.

## I. THE ARTICLES OF THE FAITH

Minister.

What is the chief end of human life?

Child.

It is to know God.

John Calvin, *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva* (1545)<sup>64</sup>

Question

What is your only consolation in life and death?

Answer

That body and soul, in life and death, I belong not to myself but to my faithful Savior, Jesus Christ, who with his precious blood has fully paid for all my sins and has redeemed (erlöset hat) me from all power of the devil; and so protects me that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head, indeed, that everything must serve my salvation. Therefore, he also assures me of eternal life through his Holy Spirit, and makes me, from now on, from the heart, willing and ready to live for him.

63 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]).

64 John Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, 2nd ed. (Geneva, 2005), 30.

### Question

How many pieces are necessary for you to know, that you may live and die in this consolation?

### Answer

Three pieces. a. First, how great are my sins and wretchedness. b. Second, how I shall be redeemed (erlöset werde) from all my sins and wretchedness. c. And third, how I should be grateful to God for such redemption.

*Catechismus oder Christlicher Unterricht, wie der in Kirchen und Schulen der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz getrieben wirdt* [The Heidelberg Catechism] (1563)<sup>65</sup>

Not all catechisms opened with a question of definition, whether of catechesis or of “Christian”. Calvin’s catechism—as well as those that drew on his catechism, such as Martin Micron’s and Jan Laski’s catechisms—and the Heidelberg Catechism led their readers to core texts through an explicit framing: the purpose of human life for those in Geneva and those exiles who looked to Geneva for leadership; consolation in the face of exile and persecution, for those who adopted the Heidelberg Catechism. From as early as 1520, Luther had preached that three texts contained everything a Christian needed to know. By mid-century, Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism were teaching that these texts were an orientation in a hostile world.

### Texts and Their Order

Medieval theologians had named discrete texts<sup>66</sup> in the Christian tradition as important to know. Prior to the sixteenth century, however, there was no consensus as to which ones or the order in which they should be learned.<sup>67</sup>

65 Catechismus // Oder // Christlicher Unterricht / wie der in Kirchen und Schulen der Churfürstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), 13–14.

66 At the center of this book is the critical distinction between words known as sounds—the ancient chanting of the Apostles’ Creed, the speaking ‘without the tongue’ of the Lord’s Prayer, the recitation of the Ten Commandments—and words materialized on paper. Here, I use the word ‘text’ as a kind of shorthand, to acknowledge that all these words were written down long before the sixteenth century and studied in manuscripts by those who could read and that certain words, of Creed, Prayer, and Commandment, were known together.

67 Weidenhiller provides a sample of late medieval catechetical texts drawn from the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, *Untersuchungen zur deutschsprachigen katechetischen Literatur*.



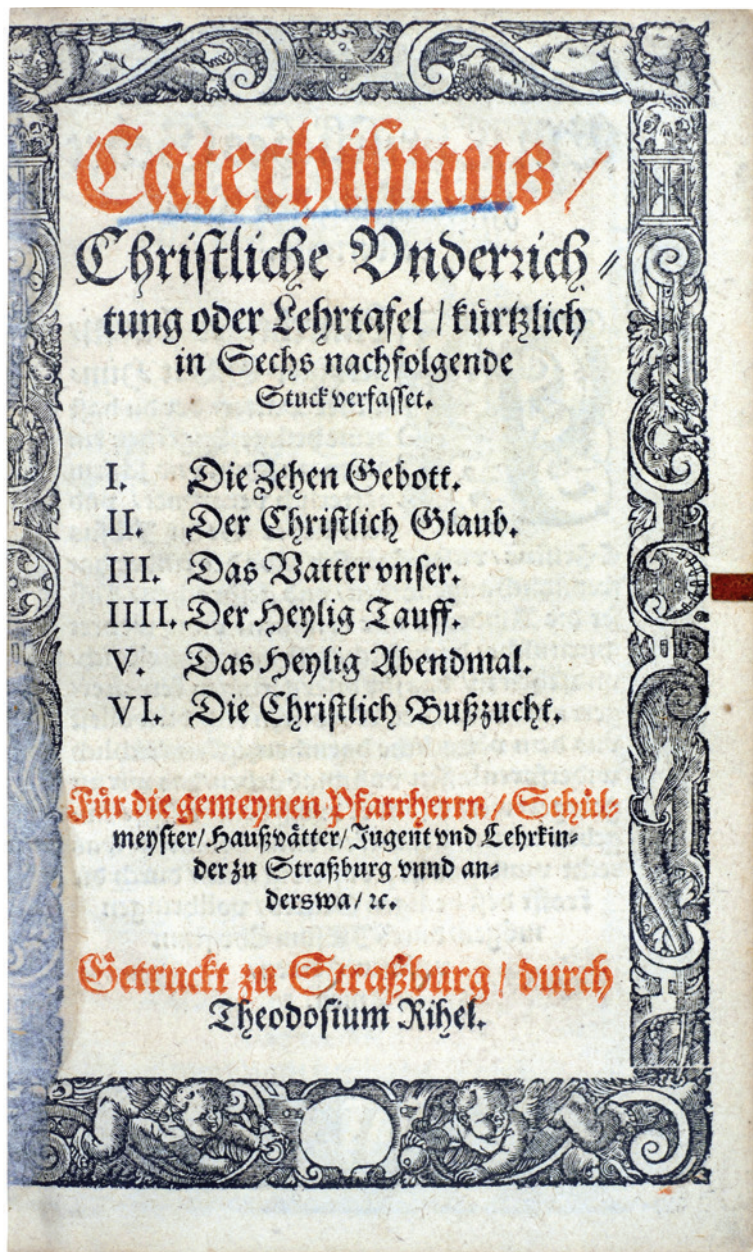


FIGURE 16 *Catechismus* / // *Christliche Vnderrich* = // *tung oder Lehrtafel* /  
*kuertzlich* // *in Sechs nachfolgende* // *Stuck verfasst* (Strasbourg:  
*Theodosius Rihel*, [1550]), title page. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek  
 Augsburg.

This should not surprise us, given that every Christian was baptized into a complex of words spoken or chanted silently and aloud, images, scent, and the temporal structures—the day, the week, the season—of the Christian liturgy and the Christian year. The words might be learned within the liturgy itself, with a priest, or at home, but they were embedded in the liturgy, in the rosary, in sermons, in books of hours and other devotional literature. They did not have a temporal sequence because they existed in a different relationship to both person and community—they were a part of a shared culture of words sung, spoken, prayed, painted, and printed, as well as images articulating in color and line narratives framing those words—and they recurred within the liturgical rhythms of Mass and Christian year.

The Strasbourg *Isagoge* is one trace of the process by which ancient words became detached from the dense experience of late medieval Christian life—as well as from one another. In Strasbourg, in the years immediately preceding its publication, iconoclasts attacked altars, reliquaries, and other images, altering the palimpsest of Christian material culture, disrupting ancient connections and resonances.<sup>68</sup> The *Isagoge* appeared in a world visually and aurally different from that of late medieval Christianity. Its author expressly excluded perhaps the single most popular medieval catechetical text—the Ten Commandments, central to confession in the sacrament of penance—as well as the familiar and widely beloved Ave Maria. The *Isagoge* contained the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer—the one sixteenth-century Christians held to be authored by the apostles,<sup>69</sup> the other directly commanded by Christ—and Gospel texts founding the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. Like the churches in which it might have been recited, the *Isagoge* was stripped of the medieval practices its author rejected.

Much has been written on whether printing words on a page “fixed” knowledge,<sup>70</sup> but printing the ancient words—the Ten Commandments, one of the most ancient texts of the Judeo-Christian tradition; the Lord's Prayer, contained within the canonical Gospels; the Apostles' Creed, whose roots have

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68 Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (Cambridge, 1995), ch. 3.

69 On the history of the Apostles' Creed, see Chapter 2. Pedro de Cuéllar's *Catecismo* of 1325, for example, assigns one line to each of the twelve apostles; Jose-Luis Martín and Antonio Linage Conde, *Religión y sociedad medieval: El catecismo de Pedro de Cuéllar* (Salamanca, 1987), 172.

70 Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, 1998); David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003).

been traced to the fourth century—did fix those words as texts in ways Luther and the Elector Palatine expressly sought.<sup>71</sup> Sixteenth-century catechisms fixed which texts a Church taught, the wording of those texts, their structure, the cadences as they were spoken aloud, and the order in which each Church's texts were learned.

The *Isagoge* is one example of what took place in towns and principalities across Europe: different Churches taught different texts. A printed catechism at once established and contained those texts a Church held “a Christian” should “know by heart”. Canisius's catechisms taught the Apostles' Creed; the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria; the Ten Commandments; the seven sacraments; “the seven cardinal sins, the alien sins, which through our guilt belong to us, sins against the Holy Spirit, sins that are heard in heaven”; “the three kinds of good works, the works of mercy, the cardinal virtues, the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit, the eight beatitudes, the apostolic counsel, and the four last things”.<sup>72</sup> Lutheran catechisms—those of Luther himself, as well as Osiander, Antonius Corvinus, Lucas Lossius, and Spangenberg—taught the “five parts of the entirety of Christian doctrine”.<sup>73</sup> the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the sacrament of baptism, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Luther also included an Exhortation to Confession at the end of his catechisms, even as he was still ambivalent about the relationship of confession and sacrament. Lossius included a section on penance, confession, and absolution—part four in the structure of his catechism, but Spangenberg did not.<sup>74</sup> Calvin's Genevan Catechism taught the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the sacraments, baptism and the Supper. The Heidelberg Catechism taught the Apostles' Creed, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Ten Commandments, and

71 See Luther's Preface to the *Enchiridion* and the Elector's Preface to the Heidelberg Catechism.

72 Peter Canisius: *Der Große Katechismus: Summa doctrinae christianae* (1555), ed. Hubert Filser and Stephan Leimgruber (Regensburg, 2003), 78.

73 “Wie viel sind Heubtstuecke der ganzen Christlichen Lere? Fuenffe”, Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere / // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 1.

74 Lucas Lossius, *Catechismus, // HOC EST, CHRISTIANAE // Doctrinae Methodus. // ITEM, // OBJECTIONES IN // EVNDEM, VNA CVM VERIS // & breuibus earum Solutionibus, ordine // certo & perspicuo insertae* (Frankfurt: Christian Egenolff, 1553), 54v–60; Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere / // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541); and *Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere / // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstucke // verfasset* (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547).



the Lord's Prayer. Most sixteenth-century catechisms taught the Lord's Prayer, which all held to be scriptural, and the Apostles' Creed.<sup>75</sup> Unlike the Strasbourg *Isagoge*, the majority also taught the Ten Commandments, though, as we shall see, they did not agree on how to divide the first half of the Exodus text into Commandments.

Printed catechisms drew on the visualities of type and spacing to structure the words, breaking ancient and familiar commandment, prayer, creed, and Gospel narrative into sections, paragraphs, sentences. As catechumens learned the sections, they spoke the spaces on the page, breaking the momentum of word to word into cadences of sound and segments of meaning. Canisius divided the Apostles' Creed into the traditional twelve parts, to correspond with the number of apostles, while Luther expressly divided the Creed into three parts, corresponding to the Trinity, and Calvin, into four, allocating the Church a separate part. So, too, catechisms differed on the number of petitions encompassed in the Lord's Prayer. As we shall see, divisions of the core texts reflected differing affiliations of clauses, connections of syntax and meaning. They also meant that the members of different Churches placed pauses, silences, breath, at different places.

Catechisms also established the texts themselves, though this was a more protracted process. Throughout the sixteenth century, there was no one 'Catholic catechism', no one 'Lutheran catechism', no one 'Reformed catechism', no one catechism for the Bohemian Brethren, for the Church of Strasbourg, or Ulm or Augsburg. The Council of Trent called for a single catechism—which was never intended for the hands of the laity—and the modern edition narrates the history of the effort to establish a critical edition.<sup>76</sup> In 1580, the Council of Concord set the texts of Luther's two catechisms and bound them in its Book; Luther himself had continued to make alterations to the texts, adding, for example, prefaces, and those, such as Spangenberg, who published versions of Luther's catechism, themselves altered the text, expanding in some places and, most notably, in some instances eliding his discussion of confession. Calvin made changes to his French and Latin catechisms; in his 1555 catechism, Calvin changed the wording from "Eglise catholique" to "Eglise universelle".<sup>77</sup> The Heidelberg Catechism, published with the Elector's express

75 Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* ((Turnhout, 2002).

76 CATECHISMVS ROMANVS seu CATECHISMVS EX DECRETO CONCILII TRIDENTINI AD PAROCHOS PII QVINTI PONT. MAX. IVSSV EDITVS, ed. Petrus Rodriguez (Vatican, 1989).

77 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Eglise de Genève," 32.

wish to set a text, was subject to the decisions of translators or those, most famously Peter Dathenus, who included it with other texts, his psalter.

In the midst of textual variation, Luther, Calvin, the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism, and others sought to stabilize. Calvin and the Heidelberg Catechism divided the Ten Commandments differently than did other traditions defined in the sixteenth century, distinguishing the prohibition against images as a Commandment unto itself. Catholic catechisms placed images under the broad command to honor God. Luther's catechisms elided images entirely. While the wording of the Apostles' Creed remained largely consistent across Churches, punctuation varied from Church to Church, even as it remained relatively constant across multiple editions.

The spatial logic of the codex fixed core texts in specific sequences that were temporal in the process of catechesis, and print enabled that sequence to be taught across geographic distance and political boundaries. The reader who followed the logic of the codex, as Luther's and Calvin's catechisms and the Heidelberg Catechism directed, learned one text first, and then another, and then another. Indeed, Luther asked his readers first to master one section before moving to the next—not simply to follow the spatial logic of the codex, but to use it to structure the embodiment of specific texts over time.

Catechisms of the Lutheran tradition, beginning with Luther's *Enchiridion* and *German Catechisms* and extending through those modeled on them, such as the catechisms of Corvinus, Spangenberg, and Brenz, all started with the Ten Commandments.<sup>78</sup> Luther and Lutherans began with the Old Testament and with Law. Lutheran catechisms moved from Law through the Creed and the archetypal prayer to the sacraments and grace. In their very spatialization of texts, they taught Luther's understanding of Christian history, the movement from Old Testament to the New, and of human salvation, from Law to Grace.<sup>79</sup>

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78 On the ordering of Luther's catechisms, see most recently Albrecht Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Ten Commandments*, trans. Holgar K. Sonntag (Saint Louis, 2009), 40–51.

79 Timothy J. Wengert, *Martin Luther's Catechisms: Forming the Faith* (Minneapolis, 2009), 4–9. Peters characterizes scholarship on the ordering of Luther's catechisms as divided between those arguing an 'inner progression of thought'—primarily Gerhard von Zezschwitz and Theodosius Harnack—and those arguing 'loosely connected blocks', Peters, *Commentary: Ten Commandments*, 41. Peters himself argues: "Luther neither offers a systematic *ordo salutis* (Moses—Christ—Spirit) nor did he place the individual chief parts side by side in an isolated manner. Rather, the reformer by means of that triad opens for us the eschatological path of Christendom and the individual believer, from our being creatures to the final completion", 50.

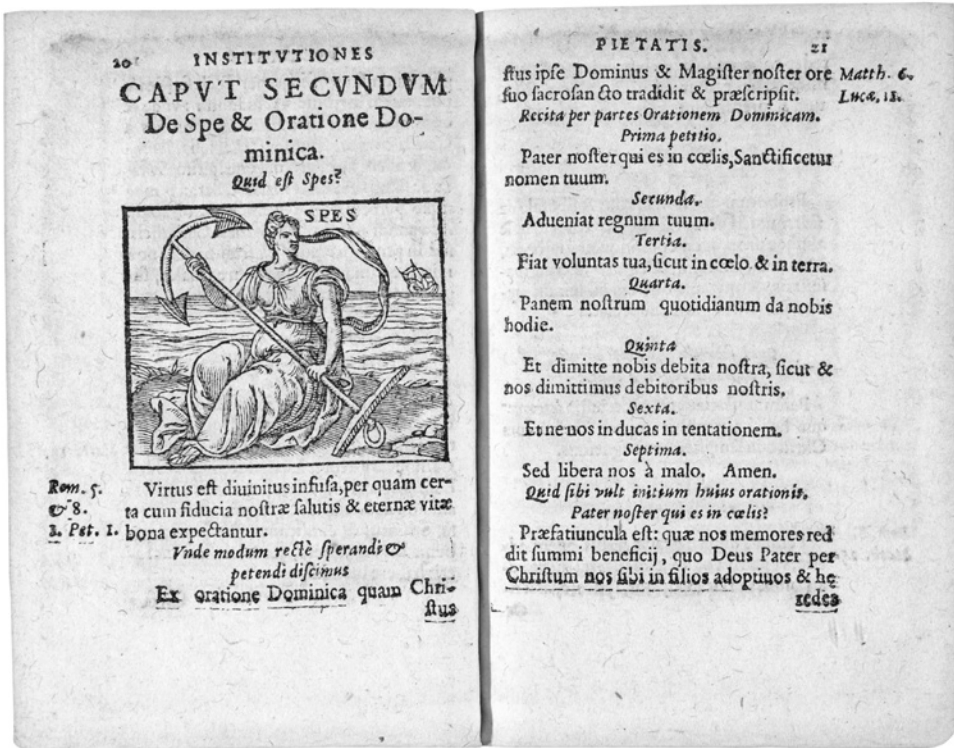


FIGURE 17 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 20–21. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Calvin's catechisms organized texts in a different sequence. Catechumens in Geneva moved from the Apostles' Creed, through the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, to sacraments and the Scriptural texts for baptism and the Supper. Calvin began with the nature of God and the simple, concise statement of Christian belief, then moved to that which governs Christian life, before turning to that which a Christian does to honor God. For Calvin, the sacraments must, necessarily, come at the end of catechesis, when the catechumen has learned of God, Christ, human sin, God's magnificence, and Christ's sacrifice.

Catholic catechisms reflect the medieval tradition: there is no one sequence of texts, nor even consistency of texts contained in a catechism. All Canisius's catechisms follow the same sequence of texts, however: the Apostles' Creed, which is taught in the section titled "Faith"; the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria, in the section titled "Hope" (Fig. 17); the Ten Commandments in the section titled

“Love”; the seven sacraments; sins of different kinds; good works of different kinds; the cardinal virtues; the gifts of the Holy Spirit; the beatitudes; the apostolic counsel; and the four last things. Canisius’s catechisms provide a dramatic contrast to Evangelical catechisms, none of which contained as many parts.

In Luther’s catechisms, the reader begins with a preface, then each of the texts in its fullness—the Ten Commandments as Luther divided and taught them, the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Gospel texts for baptism and the Lord’s Supper—and then the shorter (*Enchiridion*) or longer (*German Catechism*) explication of those texts in that order. In Lutheran catechisms, the catechumen masters the Law then moves to God’s grace and mercy. In the Genevan Catechism, the reader begins with the relationship between each human being and God, only after a sequence of 14 questions turning to the Apostles’ Creed, which is divided into four parts in a sequence of 94 questions, beginning with the text itself and concluding with a lengthy discussion of justification. The catechumen moves from “the Articles of Faith”, the Apostles’ Creed, through “the Law”, the Ten Commandments, and “Prayer”, the Lord’s Prayer, to sacraments, then the Gospel narratives for baptism and the Supper. In the Genevan Catechism, the catechumen begins with God’s magnificence and ends with the Eucharist. All Canisius’s catechisms begin with Christ. The catechumen learns ancient texts within the medieval theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Love. In Canisius’s catechisms, the catechumen begins with Christ and ends in worship. In them, the catechumen moves through faith, in the birth, life, death, resurrection, and sacrifice of Christ; and through hope, the Lord’s Prayer and the Ave Maria; to love, the Ten Commandments—God provides human beings with a precise list of what constitutes transgression. Human beings may sin, but it is choice; the doctrine of free will is there in the sequence of texts. In the Heidelberg Catechism, the catechumen moves from human suffering [Elend], through redemption, to gratitude.<sup>80</sup> The progression is framed in terms of comfort, which opens the catechism.<sup>81</sup> Within the process

80 On the threefold ‘plan’ of the Heidelberg Catechism—“Man’s Sin and Guilt”, “Man’s Redemption and Freedom”, and “Man’s Gratitude and Obedience”—see Howard G. Hageman, “Guilt, Grace, and Gratitude,” in *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude: A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*, ed. Donald J. Bruggink (New York, 1963), esp. 5–11. Fred H. Klooster provides a map of the Heidelberg Catechism in *A Mighty Comfort: The Christian Faith According to the Heidelberg Catechism* (Grand Rapids, 1990), 121.

81 On the theme of ‘comfort’ in the Heidelberg Catechism, see Fred H. Klooster, *Our Only Comfort: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, 2001), Introduction.

of catechesis, the catechumen learns the first of the catechetical texts, the Apostles' Creed, under the second rubric, of redemption.

Each sixteenth-century catechism had its own logic, its own sequencing of texts. In each, the process of becoming a Christian was distinctive—not simply the mastery of core texts, but the acquisition of a particular understanding of the relationship of those texts to one another and to the Christian life. Canisius began with Christ, Calvin, with God, the Heidelberg Catechism, with human wretchedness, Luther, with law. Each moved differently: Lutherans, from law to grace; Catholics taught by Canisius, through hope to love; early Reformed Christians moved from the Articles of Faith through the Law to Prayer and sacraments; those taught by the Heidelberg Catechism moved from sin through redemption to gratitude.

## Belief

[1] Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae;

[2] Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, [3] qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine, [4] passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, [5] descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, [6] ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram dei Patris Omnipotentis, [7] inde venturis est iudicare vivos et mortuos;

[8] Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, [9] sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, [10] remissionem peccatorum, [11] carnis resurrectionem, [12] et vitam aeternam. Amen.

The Apostles' Creed<sup>1</sup>

This 2003 edition of the Apostles' Creed is derived from Melchior Hittorp's *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis* of 1568.<sup>2</sup> Like J.N.D. Kelly, whose 1972 edition is their most immediate source, Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss divided a single sentence into three paragraphs. Unlike Kelly, they inserted numbers, further dividing the text into twelve segments, twelve discrete clauses. The printed page of these modern editions visualizes uniformity of word choice, punctuation, and with it, the designation of clauses across confessions, geography, and time—a uniformity which did not exist either prior to the sixteenth century or among all the Churches of the sixteenth century as they taught the Creed.<sup>3</sup>

1 Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie Hotchkiss, eds., *Creeeds & Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* (New Haven, 2003), vol. 1, 669.

2 Pelikan and Hotchkiss take their version from J.N.D. Kelly, ed., *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London, 1972). Kelly's version of the 'Textus receptus', divides a single sentence into three separate paragraphs; there is no numbering of individual clauses within his version, 369.

3 Compare, for instance, the versions of Saint Ambrose, *The Explanatio Symboli ad Initiandos: A Work of Saint Ambrose*, Dom R.H. Connolly, ed. (Cambridge, 1952), 8–11, and Thomas Aquinas, *The Sermon Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, ed. and trans. Nicholas Ayo (Notre Dame, 1988), 18–159. On the relationship between the Creed and the Articles of Faith in Thomas's thought, see Joseph Goering, "Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans*, ed. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph P. Wawrykow (Notre Dame, 1998), 127–38.



Scholars do not agree, when the Apostles' Creed emerged in the west as a creed, a formal statement.<sup>4</sup> At least eight centuries before Thomas Aquinas a sequence of statements had acquired a certain stability in the Western Church: God, Father, Creator of heaven and earth; Jesus Christ, his only son, was conceived, past tense, of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, was entombed, descended to Hell, on the third day, rose from death, ascended to heaven, and is seated, present tense, at the right hand of the Father almighty, whence he shall, future tense, come to judge the living and the dead; the Holy Spirit; the holy catholic church; the communion of saints; the remission of sins; the resurrection of the flesh; and eternal life.<sup>5</sup>

Unlike the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5) or the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6, foremost), the Apostles' Creed has no scriptural location—though at least one catechism of the sixteenth century offered a scriptural reference for each of the statements to analogous formulations in the New Testament. The name, "Apostles' Creed" (*symbolum apostolorum*), first appeared in a letter the synod of Milan sent to Pope Siricius in 390.<sup>6</sup> By then, a legend had taken shape, that the surviving twelve apostles gathered after the Ascension and composed the creed. A series of sermons, "De symbolo", prob-

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4 "I believe that no other single text, with the exception of the Bible, has provoked so much Christian literature as the Apostles' Creed. This is rather striking because the Apostles' Creed does not figure in the Eastern churches, and many Roman Catholic Christians only come across it in the context of baptism. In both these traditions, the only Creed to be used in the weekly services is the Creed of Nicea-Constantinople, the *Credo* that has been put to music by innumerable composers almost since the beginning of liturgical song". Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* (Turnhout, 2002), 5. Creedal research is ongoing, though all scholars agree that the Apostles' Creed cannot be traced to the apostles. In one of the most recent studies of the Apostles' Creed and a close and careful study of variant manuscripts, Westra argues in support of the seventeenth-century theory of Usher and Vossius, "the earliest extant formulation of the Apostles' Creed should be connected with fourth-century Rome", 403. Arguing from a different conceptualization of the early church, which echoes some of Kelly's argument, Markus Vinzent raises important questions about the purpose and the function of the earliest versions, in the plural, of what might be called the Apostles' Creed. See, most recently, Markus Vinzent, *Der Ursprung des Apostolikums im Urteil der kritischen Forschung* (Göttingen, 2006).

5 On catechesis of the Apostles' Creed in the early Church, see Friedrich Wiegand, *Die Stellung des apostolischen Symbols im kirchlichen Leben des Mittelalters* 1. Symbol und Katechumenat (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 4.2)(Leipzig, 1899).

6 Kelly, ed., *Early Christian Creeds*, 1–2.

ably from the eighth century, offers evidence of the elaboration of the legend: each of the apostles contributed his own discrete part.<sup>7</sup>

In 1438, at the Council of Ferrara, representatives of the Eastern Church rejected the legend: they had no such statement in their tradition.<sup>8</sup> Later in the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Valla mooted the question, but did not pursue it—certainly not with the same efficacy or thoroughness he brought to bear on the Donation of Constantine—a skepticism that circulated in the sixteenth century through the publication of an account of his interrogation for heresy. Martin Luther knew of the Council's and Valla's questions, through Erasmus's "Explanatio Symboli, quod dicitur apostolorum", but he affirmed, the Creed "is assembled . . . by using the beloved prophets and the books of the apostles" in a sermon on Trinity Sunday, 1535.<sup>9</sup> For him, as for most sixteenth-century authors of catechisms, the Creed was ancient, rooted in the New Testament if not precisely worded according to it. For Evangelicals, perhaps equally important, the Creed was one of the few texts of the medieval Church familiar to the laity, and, unlike the texts of Marian devotion, explicitly centered upon the Trinity, offering a succinct statement of the natures of God and Christ, and the doctrines of the remission of sins, the resurrection, and eternal life after death.

### Faith

1. What are you? Answer a rational creature of God, and a mortal.

2. Why did God create you?

A: that I should know and love him, and, having the love of God, that I should be saved.

3. On what does your salvation stand?

A: on three divine virtues.

4. Which are they?

A: faith, love, hope.

5. Demonstrate that.

A: St. Paul says, now remains to us these three virtues, faith, love, and hope, but the greatest of these is love.

<sup>7</sup> Kelly, ed., *Early Christian Creeds*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol: Seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche* (Hildesheim, 1962 (Leipzig, 1894)), 1: 1–5.

<sup>9</sup> Albrecht Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Creed*, trans. Thomas H. Trapp (Saint Louis, 2011), 7–8.

6. What is the first foundation of your salvation?

A: faith.

7. Demonstrate that.

A: St. Paul says to the Jews: it is impossible to please God without faith, for whoever wishes to come to God must believe that God is, and that he also rewards those who seek him.

8. What is faith?

A: St. Paul says, faith is the foundation of the things one trusts, and evidence of the invisible.

9. Of what faith are you?

A: of the common Christian.

10. What is that?

A: <sup>1</sup> I believe in God the father almighty, creator of heaven and <sup>2</sup> earth, and in Jesus Christ, his only son, our lord, who was conceived by the holy spirit, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate<sup>3</sup>, died, and buried, descended into hell the third day rose again from the dead, ascended into<sup>4</sup> heaven, and sits to the right of God the<sup>5</sup> father almighty; from thence he shall come<sup>6</sup> to judge the living and the dead, I believe in the holy spirit, one Christian Church one communion of saints one forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body and an eternal life. amen.

*A Christian Instruction for Small Children in Faith, through a method of a question (1522)*<sup>10</sup>

“I”, first person singular, “believe”, transitive verb. No other text in catechisms so bound the reader and the page as did the Apostles’ Creed. The Ten Commandments were intended, certainly, to be internalized, and the Lord’s Prayer articulated an intimate relationship between the reader and a God who listened. But the Apostles’ Creed begins with “credo”, or “ich glaube”, or “je crois”—“I believe”. Not “we believe”, not “it is held”, but “I”. The words may have been familiar from the liturgy<sup>11</sup>—but catechesis aimed for a more intimate relationship between person and words, to bind each Christian with that “I” to a statement, “believe”.

10 Gerhard von Zetzschwitz, *Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmisches Bruder: Kritische Textausgabe* (Amsterdam, 1967 (Erlangen, 1863)), 41–2; on the history of various editions, see 252–69.

11 On the Creed in the liturgy, see most recently Wolfram Kinzig, “The Creed in the Liturgy: Prayer or Hymn?” in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into its History and Interaction*, Albert Gerhards and Clemens Leonhard (Leiden, 2007), 229–46.

“I believe”. Medieval theologians had distinguished between ‘faith’, as that which bound all baptized, and ‘belief’.<sup>12</sup> For them, ‘faith’ was conferred at baptism, through the sign of the sacrament. Over time, most had come to accept ‘faith’ as something that could be ‘implicit’—inarticulate, uninformed, unformed. The capacity to express ‘belief’, to speak words, to give voice to doctrine, belonged to a minority of Christians. Such an understanding of ‘faith’ belonged to a world not simply in which the great majority could not read; it belonged to a world in which reading itself was a minority activity and in which ‘knowledge’ was by no means restricted to texts, in which ‘knowledge’ might come through visions.

Leon: What is faith?

Hans: Faith is a recognition of the unspeakable mercy of God, his gracious favor and good will, which he conveys to us through his most beloved son Jesus Christ, whom he did not spare from death on our behalf, so that sin would be paid for and we might be made sons with him, and so that we might with certainty of heart call to him: Father, our Father who art in heaven.

Balthasar Hubmaier, *A Christian Catechism Which Every Person Should Know Before He Is Baptised in Water* (1526)<sup>13</sup>

The medieval distinction between faith and belief was the precise target of catechisms. Many opened, as we have seen, with a definition of a ‘Christian’ that began with baptism, which had defined all Christians from the time of Charlemagne forward. But sixteenth-century catechisms, Evangelical and Catholic alike, did not end there. For all, ‘faith’ had become something more than, something distinguishable from, a bond forged in a sacrament. Baptism was no longer sufficient in Europe, or more precisely, the ‘sign’ did not convey ‘knowledge’, which became essential to Christian identity in the sixteenth century. No catechism was intended to bestow ‘faith’, but all sought to inform it, to make it not simply verbal, but textual.

12 John van Engen, “Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom,” in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame, 1991), 33.

13 Balthasar Hubmaier, “A Christian Catechism: Which Every Person Should Know Before He is Baptized in Water,” in *Three Reformation Catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran*, ed. and trans. Denis Janz (New York, 1982), 146.

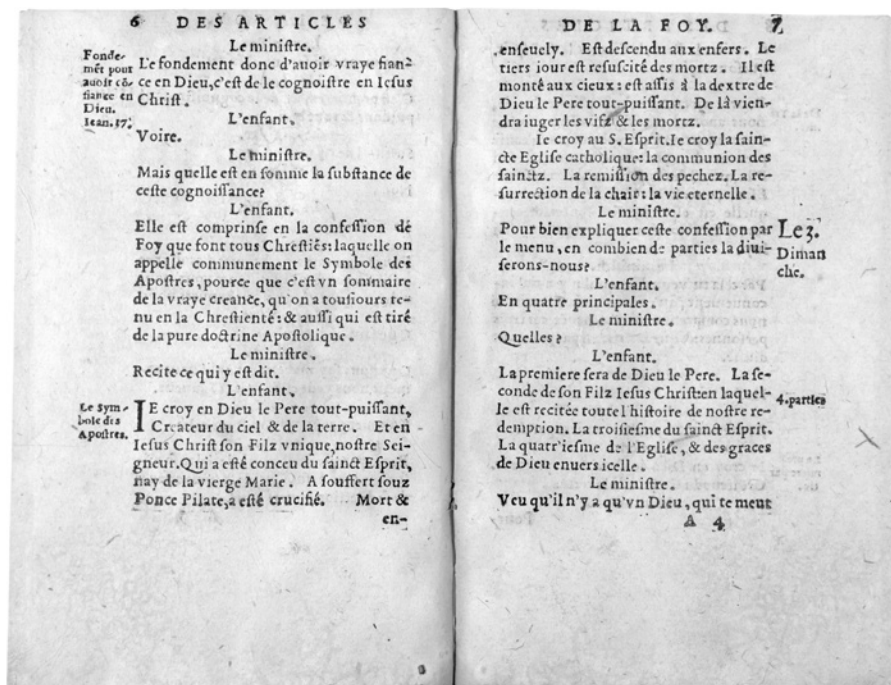


FIGURE 18 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // *Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 6–7. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

In many catechisms, the Apostles' Creed was the point at which faith and belief became fused.<sup>14</sup> An ancient text, long held to be the simplest, most rudimentary summary of Christian doctrine, the Creed became, in so many catechisms, the opportunity to teach “faith”. Indeed, in many catechisms, the words, faith and belief, became almost interchangeable—one marker of the transformation. In many, too, the Apostles' Creed was that place in the codex where authors offered a definition of “belief” and/or “faith”. In Peter Canisius's catechisms, faith “is the gift and light of God, by which, the illumined firmly assent to what

14 Despite the words at the end of the definition Hubmaier offered, he moved to the Apostles' Creed, not the Lord's Prayer. Caspar Schwenckfeld assumed, but did not include the Apostles' Creed in his catechisms. See, for example, Caspar Schwenckfeld, *Catechismus von etlich=//en Hauptartickeln des Christlichen glaubens / vnd // vom grund vnd anfang der Seelen seligkeit / // Auff Frag vnd Antwort gestellet* (Augsburg, 1531), Aii<sup>v</sup>.

God reveals and the Church sets forth to us to be believed" (see Fig. 7b).<sup>15</sup> In his different catechisms, Canisius explicated "what God reveals . . . to be believed", in greater or lesser detail, but in each it led directly to the Apostles' Creed, the "sum of faith". Of all the catechisms, the Genevan Catechism most explicitly redefined faith as knowledge: "the foundation of true faith in God is to know him in Christ," and "the sum of the substance of that knowledge . . . is comprised" in the Apostles' Creed (Fig. 18).<sup>16</sup> Only after learning the Apostles' Creed could the child then define 'faith': "a certain and firm knowledge of the love [dilection] of God towards us, as he declares in his Gospel that he is our Father and Savior, through the means of Jesus Christ".<sup>17</sup> The Heidelberg Catechism combined knowledge and trust. Question 21 asks "What is true belief [warer glaub]?"<sup>18</sup> The catechumen was to answer: "It is not alone a certain recognition, through which I hold for true what God has revealed in his word, but also a heartfelt trust [vertrawen] which the Holy Spirit works in me through the Gospel, that God gives not only to others but also to me forgiveness of sins, eternal righteousness, and blessedness [seligkeit], out of sheer grace, alone for the sake of Christ's will".<sup>19</sup> And in answer to the very next question, "What is a Christian to believe?" the catechumen was to recite the Apostles' Creed.

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- 15 Peter Canisius, PARVVS CATECHISMVS, in COMPENDIVM // DOCTRINÆ // NÆ CATHOLICÆ, // in vsum plebis Christianæ // rectè instituendæ, à R.P.F. PE-/TRO de SOTO, Domini-/cano Theologo, Con-/fessore Caes. Maiest. //collectum. . . . ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca-/tholicorum, autore D. PE-/TRO CANISIO ([Augsburg], 1564), Ff3<sup>v</sup>.
  - 16 John Calvin, LE CATE-/CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-/struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-/roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549). John Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," in *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, 2nd ed. (Geneva, 2005), 31 (2nd Sunday).
  - 17 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 51 (18th Sunday). Cf. Edward A. Dowey, Jr., *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1994), esp. ch. iv.
  - 18 On 'faith' in the Heidelberg Catechism, see Emmerich Gyenge, "Der Glaube, Seine Gewissheit und Bewahrung," in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. Lothar Coenen (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1963), 113–27.
  - 19 The German and Latin texts differ in the original editions. The German text reads: "Es ist nicht allein ein gewisse erkanntnuß / dardurch ich alles fuer war halte / was uns Gott in seinem wort hat offen baret e: sonder auch ein hertzliches vertrawen f / welches der heilige Geist g durchs Euangelium in mir würcket h / daß nicht allein andern / sonder auch mir vergebung der Sünden / ewige gerechtigkeit und seligkeit von Gott geschenckt sey a / auß lauter gnaden / allein umb des verdiensts Christi willen. b", Catechismus //



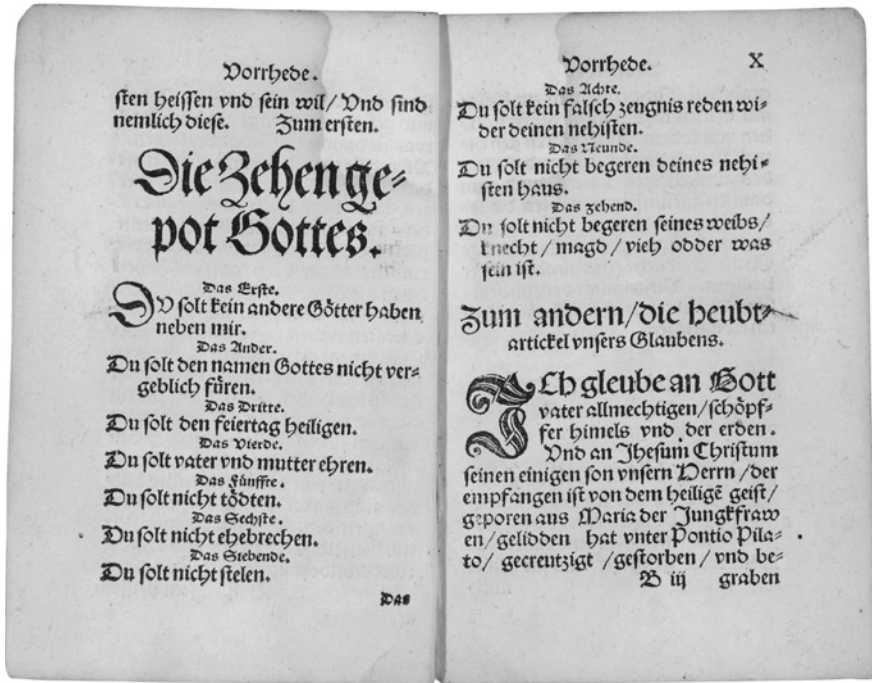


FIGURE 19 Martin Luther, *Deusch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), ix<sup>v</sup>–x. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### The Apostles' Creed in the Codex

Luther did not begin with the Apostles' Creed, nor did he offer a definition of faith (Fig. 19).<sup>20</sup> Luther's catechism begins with the Ten Commandments, "all that God wishes us to do and not to do". The Creed, the next step in Lutheran catechesis, "sets forth all that we must expect and receive from God; in short,

Oder // Christlicher Unterricht // wie der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), 22–23. The Latin text reads: "Est non tantum notitia, qua firmiter assentior omnibus quae Deus nobis in verbo suo patefecit <sup>a</sup>, sed etiam certa fiducia <sup>b</sup>, à Spiritu Sancto <sup>c</sup>, per Evangelium <sup>d</sup> in corde meo accensa, qua in Deo acquiesce, certò statuens, non solum alijs, sed mihi quoque remissionem peccatorum, æternam iustitiam, & vitam donatam esse <sup>e</sup>, idque gratis ex Dei misericordia, propter unius Christi meritum <sup>f</sup>". CATECHE-//SIS RELIGIONIS // CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRA-//DITVR IN ECCLESIIS ET // SCHOLIS PALA-//TINATVS (Heidelberg: Michel Shirat, 1563), 8.

20 Martin Luther, *Deusch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531).

it teaches us to know him perfectly . . . given in order to help us do what the Ten Commandments require of us".<sup>21</sup> If both the Ten Commandments and the Creed were to inform faith for Luther, they functioned differently in relationship to that faith. The Creed provides the 'knowledge' that leads to love:

For the [Ten Commandments] teach us what we ought to do, but the Creed tells us what God does for us and gives to us. The Ten Commandments, moreover, are written in the hearts of all people, but no human wisdom is able to comprehend the Creed; it must be taught by the Holy Spirit alone. Therefore the Ten Commandments do not succeed in making us Christians . . . But the Creed brings pure grace and makes us righteous and acceptable to God. Through this knowledge we come to love and delight in all the commandments of God because we see here in the Creed how God gives himself completely to us, with all his gifts and power, to help us keep the Ten Commandments: the Father gives us all creation, Christ all his works, the Holy Spirit all his gifts.

Martin Luther, *The German Catechism*<sup>22</sup>

Luther's placement of the Apostles' Creed in his catechism distinguished it both structurally and in the temporal process of catechesis from Catholic catechisms, as well as the Genevan Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism, all of which placed the Creed first among catechetical texts—even as they themselves differed in how immediately they moved to the first text.<sup>23</sup> Canisius placed the Apostles' Creed right at the beginning in his many different catechisms. John Calvin placed it after fifteen questions concerning the knowledge of God and on the second Sunday of instruction. In the Heidelberg Catechism, the Apostles' Creed followed directly after question 22, on the nature of faith.

In the text introducing and closing the section on the Apostles' Creed, Luther explained explicitly the spatial logic of the catechism: the necessity of understanding human weakness before the catechumen could grasp divine mercy and love. A different spatial logic may be said to work in Canisius's and

21 Martin Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 431. Given the considerable textual variation among Luther's catechisms, unless otherwise noted all quotations are from this modern American *Book of Concord*'s translations of both the *German Catechism* and the *Enchiridion*.

22 Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," *The Book of Concord*, 431, 440.

23 Lutheran catechisms preserved the order of texts, but not necessarily the structure of the Apostles' Creed; Johannes Spangenberg continued to divide the Apostles' Creed into twelve articles, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere / // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasst* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541).

Calvin's catechisms. In Canisius's catechisms, the catechumen was to learn the Apostles' Creed directly after questions of definition—of a "Christian" and "faith". In the Genevan Catechism, catechumens were to come to the Apostles' Creed immediately following questions on the knowledge of God. While the Heidelberg Catechism also placed the Apostles' Creed first among catechetical texts, the catechumen was to come to it through a separate section of questions, on human misery, and, like Canisius's catechism, immediately after the question of the definition of "faith", to the Apostles' Creed.<sup>24</sup> All held the Apostles' Creed to be ancient and to contain "belief", but they differed in its relationship to other texts and its place in the process of catechesis.

### The Structure of the Apostles' Creed

For none of these authors was the goal rote memorization of the Apostles' Creed.<sup>25</sup> For all, the Creed was not an addition to existing faith, but inseparable from it—albeit in different ways. Those same authors—Luther, Canisius, Calvin, and dozens of others—who became embroiled on multiple fronts in battles over words sought in their catechisms to teach, in Luther's words, "understanding, so that they know, what is being said":<sup>26</sup> to teach children, foremost, one way of reading words, clauses, sentences, paragraphs that would then bind those children in a community which "understood" the words and sentences the same. They sought to do so through nested strategies that speak to the effort to create shared understanding. In a world of no dictionaries,<sup>27</sup> in which orthography of vernacular words reflected local pronunciation and the printers' shops supply of type fonts, and texts were pirated, adapted, translated, appropriated—in this world, authors of catechisms sought to teach

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24 Howard G. Hageman argues that the Heidelberg Catechism alone subsumes the ancient catechetical texts to a larger 'plan', though, as he also notes, the traditional catechetical texts and the sacraments form the 'largest part', 77 questions of 129, "Guilt, Grace, and Gratitude," in *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude: A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*, ed. Donald J. Bruggink (New York, 1963), 5. Scholars of Luther's catechisms have also found a larger plan in his catechisms. See, foremost, Albrecht Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Ten Commandments*, trans. Holger K. Sonntag (Saint Louis, 2009), 36–51.

25 Cf. Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastor's: Pastoral Cate and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536–1609* (Oxford, 2013), 265–74.

26 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* [Nürnberg:] n.p., [c.1530], Aiii.

27 John Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge, 2011).



FIGURE 20 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 4–5. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

uniform texts. While they could not control orthography, and they could control only imperfectly punctuation, they could control the logic of the codex, the structure of the text of the Apostles' Creed itself, and the questions that led, step by step, to that more complex “understanding”.

After placement in the logic of the codex—and thus the temporal sequence of catechesis—the second level of teaching “understanding” was what might called the spatialization of the text: the division of words into clauses, sentences, paragraphs, which, in turn, taught the catechumen not only the cadences of the spoken Creed, the rhythms of the “I believe”, but the clustering of words into specific segments of meaning.

If the Bohemian Brethren learned the Apostles' Creed as a single paragraph, those taught by Canisius's catechisms learned it in twelve parts (Fig. 20),<sup>28</sup> in

28 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575). The catechumens of Balthasar Hubmaier's “A Christian Catechism: Which Every Person Should Know Before

fifteen questions in the first catechism, the *Summa*, in sixteen questions in the *Little Catechism*:

- I.  
I believe in God the Father the almighty, creator of heaven and earth.
- II.  
And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, Our Lord.
- III.  
Who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary.
- IV.  
Suffered under Pontius Pilate, [was] crucified, died, and [was] entombed.
- V.  
Descended into Hell, on the third day rose from the dead.
- VI.  
Ascended to Heaven, sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.
- VII.  
Whence he will come to judge the living and the dead.
- VIII.  
I believe in the Holy Spirit.
- IX.  
The Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints.
- X.  
The remission of sins.
- XI.  
The resurrection of the flesh.
- XII.  
And eternal life. Amen.<sup>29</sup>

In each of Canisius's catechisms, he divided the Creed into twelve segments. Each was numbered: in Latin editions with Roman numerals; in at least one vernacular edition, a *Catechismus // Kurtze Erclaerung* of 1563, using the word

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He is Baptized in Water," also learned the Creed in twelve articles, in *Three Reformation Catechisms*, 147. In his sermon on the Creed, Thomas Aquinas divided it into 13 parts, Thomas Aquinas, *The Three Greatest Prayers: Commentaries on the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Apostles' Creed* (Manchester, NH, 1990), 1–98.

29 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 4–5.

prompts, “The first”, “The second”, . . . “The twelfth”.<sup>30</sup> Each segment ends with a period, full stop. On the page, each segment is spatially discrete, a visible whole unto itself. Each, in the visualities of the page and the signification of punctuation, is a unit of meaning.

Canisius did not attribute any of the segments to a specific apostle. But the pages of his catechism present to the eyes of its readers not simply twelve statements, but twelve discrete bodies of text, separated by numbers and spacing. And the structuring of catechesis reinforced the conceptualization of the Creed not as a single statement broken into clauses, but as twelve discrete statements, each a unit carrying its own meaning. In the codex of one especially beautiful edition of the *Institutiones*, published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, as the catechumen answered the question for part VI, on Christ’s ascent, he would have seen on the page eleven discrete bodies, disciples, along with Mary, observing that ascent.<sup>31</sup>

Luther’s *German Catechism* provided the full text of the Apostles’ Creed at the beginning of the catechism, immediately following the prefaces (Fig. 19). In the *Enchiridion*, as well as in the *German Catechism* (Figs. 21–23), when Luther turned to the Apostles’ Creed, he divided the text into three parts separated by their discrete commentaries:

I believe in God, the Father almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.

And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried, he went down into Hell, On the third day rose from the dead, Ascended into heaven, Sitting to the right of God the almighty Father, from where he will come, to judge the living and the dead.

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- 30 For Latin examples, see Peter Canisius, PARVVS CATECHISMVS, in COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI= // NÆ CATHOLICÆ, // in vsum plebis Christianæ // rectè instituendæ, à R.P.F. PE-//TRO de SOTO, Domini-//cano Theologo, Con-//fessore Caes. Maiest. //collectum. . . . ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca-//tholicorum, autore D. PE-//TRO CANISIO ([Augsburg], 1564), 172r–v; INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 4–5. For a vernacular example, see Peter Canisius, CATECHISMVS.// Kurtze Erclae=//rung der fürnemsten stuck//des wahren Catholischen // Glaubens. Auch rechte vnd Catholi=//sche form zu betten.//Alles von newem mit fleiß gebessert // vnd gemehret (Augsburg, 1563), Cviii/v-Di.
- 31 INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 11.



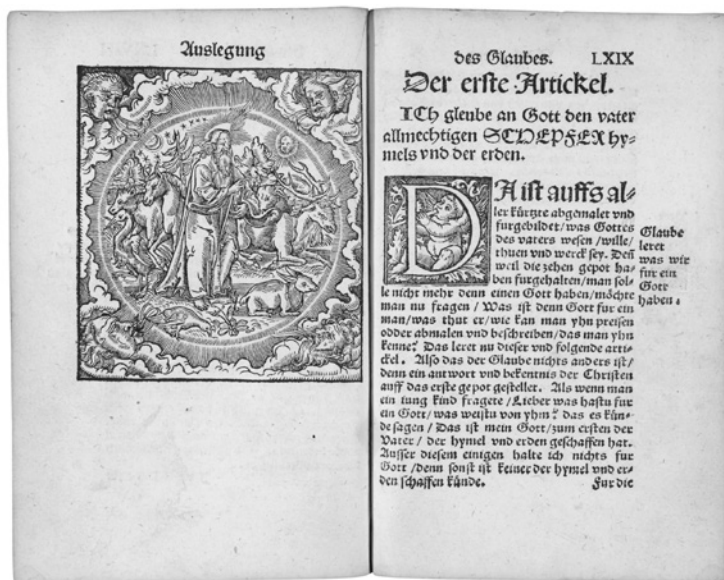


FIGURE 21 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.*// Mit einer neuen vorrheide //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LVIII<sup>r</sup>–LXIX. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



FIGURE 22 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.*// Mit einer neuen vorrheide //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LXXI<sup>r</sup>–LXXII. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

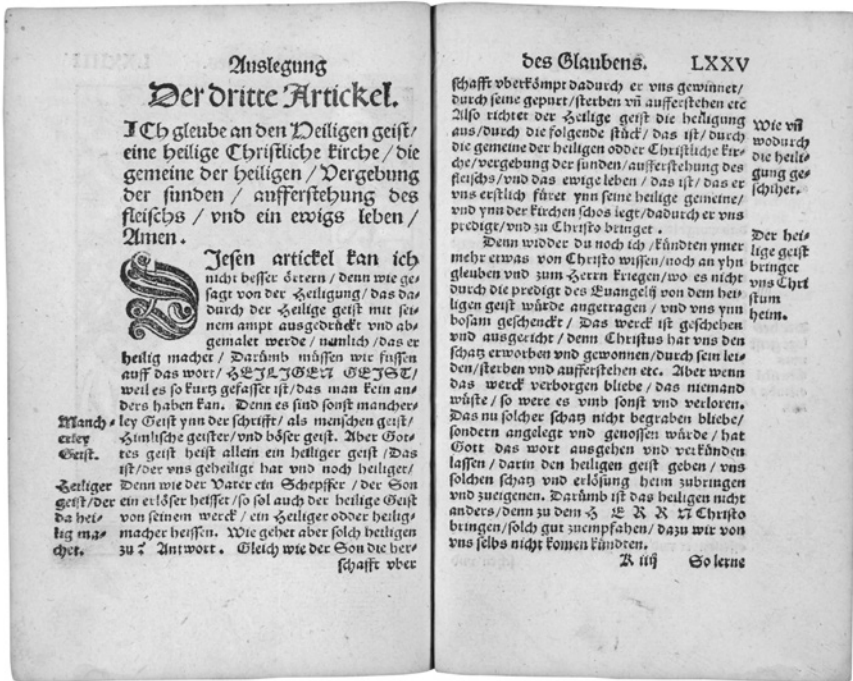


FIGURE 23 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LXXIII<sup>v</sup>–LXXV. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

I believe in the Holy Spirit, one Holy Christian Church, the community of the saints, Forgiveness of sins, Resurrection of the flesh, and an eternal life. Amen.<sup>32</sup>

32 Martin Luther, *ENCHIRIDION // Der klei//ne Catechis=//mus fur die ge=//meine Pffarher // und Prediger* (Magdeburg: Michel Lotther, 1542), n.p.

The Weimar Ausgabe, *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, vol. 30, pt. 1 (Weimar, 1910) (hereafter WA), 130, sets the following from all the textual variations for the *German Catechism*:

“Ich glaube an Gott vater allmechtigen, schoepffer hymels und der erden. Und an Jhesum Christum, seinen einigen son, unsern Herrn, der empfangen ist von dem heiligen geist, geporen aus Maria der Jungkfrauen, gelididen hat unter Pontio Pilato, gecreutzigt, gestorben und begraben ist, Niddergefahren zur helle, am dritten tage widder auferstanden von todtten, Auffgefahren gen hymel, sitzend zur rechten hand Gottes, des allmechtigen vaters, und von dannen zukunfftig zu richten die lebendigen und todtten.

“Ich glaube an den heiligen geist, Eine heilige Christliche kirche, gemeinschaft der heiligen, Vergebung der sunden, Auferstehung des fleischs, Und ein ewigs leben. Amen.”

As both catechisms taught, this division reflected the three persons of the Trinity, as Luther himself explained in the *German Catechism*:

In the first place, the Creed used to be divided into twelve articles. Of course, if all the elements contained in Scripture and belonging to the Creed were gathered together, there would be many more articles, nor could they all be clearly expressed in so few words. But to make it most clear and simple for teaching to children, we shall briefly sum up the entire Creed in three main articles, according to the three persons of the Godhead, to whom everything that we believe is related. Thus the first article concerning God the Father, explains creation; the second, concerning the Son, redemption; the third, concerning the Holy Spirit, being made holy. Hence the Creed could be briefly condensed to these few words: "I believe in God the Father, who created me; I believe in God the Son, who has redeemed me; I believe in the Holy Spirit, who makes me holy." One God and one faith, but three persons, and therefore also three articles or confessions.<sup>33</sup>

For Luther, the division of the Creed was to invoke not the twelve human apostles, but the three persons of God. "I believe" opened segments one and three, and was implicit in the beginning of segment two—the three persons of the Trinity were to be learned "by heart", embodied in the very cadences of speaking the Creed aloud. Luther's division also accorded the Holy Spirit divinity equal to God the Father and Christ the Son. Each person of the Trinity, as the subtitles reinforced, had its own particular agency in the world: creation, redemption, making holy.

The Genevan Catechism first taught one paragraph in the 1547 Latin edition, and then two paragraphs in the 1549 French edition (Fig. 18):<sup>34</sup>

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There are so many textual variations among the editions of the *Enchiridion* that the wa itself published multiple versions, 239–425.

33 Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," *The Book of Concord*, 431–32.

34 The French edition also punctuated the text differently:

IE croy en Dieu le Pere tout-puissant, Createur du ciel & de la terre. Et en Iesus Christ son Filz vnique, nostre Seigneur. Qvi a estré conceu du saint Esprit, nay de la vierge Marie. A souffert fouz Once Pilate, a esté crucifié. Mort & enseuely. Est descendu aux enfers. Le tiers jour est resuscité des mortz. Il est monté aux cieux: est affis à la dextre de Dieu le Pere tout-puissant. De là viendra iuger les vifz & les mortz.

Le croy au S. Esprit. Le croy la sainte Eglisee catholique: la communion des saintcz. La remission des pechez. La resurrection de la chair: la vie eternelle.

I believe in God the father almighty, creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, died, and entombed, descended to hell, on the third day resurrected from death, ascended to heaven, sits to the right of God father almighty, whence he will come to judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic Church, the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, eternal life [1556: Amen].

The Genevan Catechism then taught the child to divide the Creed into four parts:

Minister.

So that we may explicate this confession for the little children, in how many parts do we divide this confession?

Child.

In four principal parts.

Minister.

Which?

Child.

The first looks to God the father; the second is his son Jesus Christ, in which the whole sum of human redemption is embraced; the third the Holy Spirit; the fourth the Church, and gifts of God in it.<sup>35</sup>

Calvin did not divide the Creed according to the principles of either Canisius or Luther—neither twelve sentences nor three paragraphs.<sup>36</sup> Instead, the Genevan Catechism taught the Creed over sixteen Sundays, from the second Sunday to the eighteenth, in 94 questions, numbered 16–110 in the modern edition, and concluded the section on “the Articles of Faith” with twenty more questions: on true faith, on the Holy Spirit, justification, regeneration, good

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John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 6–7.

35 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 32.

36 In the 1520s, Guillaume Farel was teaching the Creed as containing twelve articles, Guillaume Farel, *Le Pater Noster et le Credo en François*, published by Francis Higman (Geneva, 1982), 48.



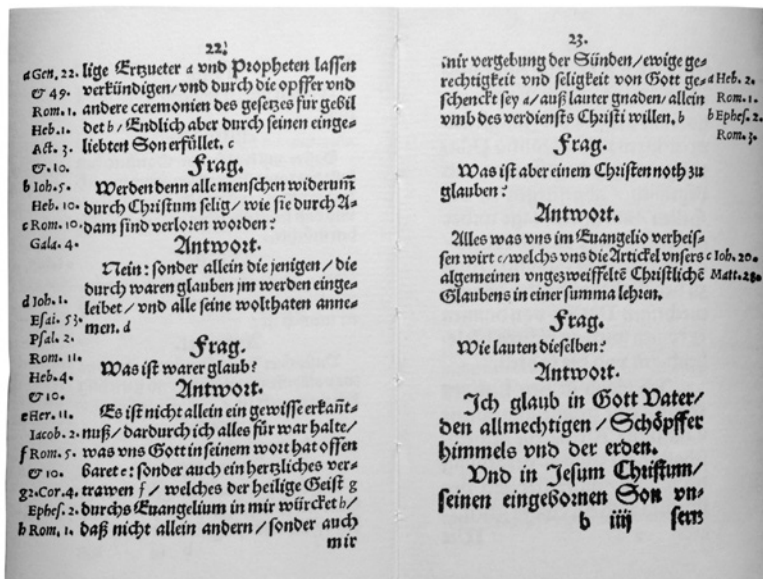


FIGURE 24 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 22–23.*

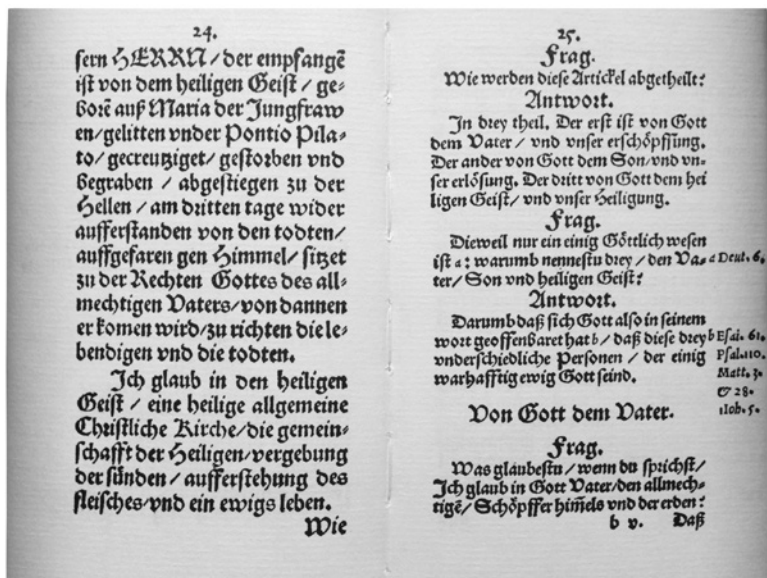


FIGURE 25 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 24–25.*

works, pleasing God, penitence, and the Christian life, which led to the Ten Commandments, “the Law”.<sup>37</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism divided the Apostles’ Creed into three parts, just as Luther’s catechisms had done (Figs. 24–25):<sup>38</sup>

I believe in God the Father the Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth.

And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Spirit, both of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried, climbed down into hell, on the third day rose again from the dead, ascended to heaven, sits to the Right of God the almighty Father, from whence he will come, to judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit, one holy common Christian Church, the community of the saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and an eternal life.<sup>39</sup>

And like Luther’s catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism explicitly connected that division to the three persons of the Trinity:

Question.

How are these articles divided?

Answer.

In three parts. The first is of God the Father and our creation. The other, of God the Son and our redemption. The third, of God the Holy Spirit and our sanctification [heiligung].<sup>40</sup>

37 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 56.

38 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht / // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563).

39 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht / // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 23–24. The modern translation uses “Maker” for the German Schoepffer, “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, ed. Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, 1991), 141. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations of the Heidelberg Catechism are from this modern translation.

40 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht / // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 25. The modern English translation reads somewhat differently: “Into three parts: The first concerns God *the Father* and our *creation*; the second, God *the Son* and our *redemption*; and the third, God *the Holy Spirit* and our *sanctification*,” “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 141.



But the Heidelberg Catechism did not teach the same understanding. It was not simply that Luther's catechisms treated the Apostles' Creed more briefly—less than eight pages in one edition as compared to nineteen pages in the first edition of the Heidelberg Catechism.<sup>41</sup> Luther's catechisms taught the Apostles' Creed according to that tripartite division, just as Canisius's catechisms taught the Creed according to a twelve-part division. Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism broke the text into parts—after the initial division of three, it posed not three or twelve, but thirty-five questions (numbers 23–58), including the text itself. The structure of catechesis conveyed no symbolism—no bodies of apostles, no triune God—not in its numbering, not in the spacing of text. And it framed the text within its own distinctive movement, from human misery through redemption, where the catechumen learned the teaching of the Apostles' Creed, to gratitude.

The Apostles' Creed was not the same text, from catechism to catechism. Setting aside differences of punctuation and capitalization, which might originate in the printers' workshops, the catechisms divided the words differently, ranging from the single sentence of the Latin Genevan Catechism to the twelve sentences of Canisius's. They taught different cadences, different segmenting of the text. They also sought to teach different understanding through the precise questions they asked. In asking those questions, each catechism sought to teach the affiliation of some words, some phrasings, and not others. Each "explained" the text and in so doing, brought to the words and clauses of the Apostles' Creed other sentences that then became attached, in the process of catechesis, to the text of the Creed. By the end of catechesis of the Apostles' Creed, catechumens of Luther's catechisms had come to associate specific words with "God", "Christ", "Holy Spirit", and "Church" that distinguished them from the catechumens not only of Canisius's catechisms, but of the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms. Catechumens of Canisius's catechisms attached different words to "the Church" than did those of the other catechisms. Catechumens of the Genevan Catechism learned a far more detailed sense of "resurrection of the flesh" than did the catechumens of other catechisms. Definitions of the words of the Apostles' Creed at once created communities of "understanding" and articulated their boundaries.

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41 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion*. // *Der kleyne Catechismus für die gemeyne // Pfarherr und Prediger* [Nuremberg:] n.p [c. 1530], [394–98 r-v]; *Catechismus // Oder // Christlicher Unterricht* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), biii-cv-v.

## God the Father, Creator of Heaven and Earth

While modern translations sometimes render the word “Maker”, the catechisms of the Bohemian Brethren, Canisius, Luther, and Calvin, as well as the Heidelberg Catechism all preserved the word, “Creator”, with its explicit connection to “Creation”. All preserved as a single unit, “God the father almighty creator of heaven and earth”, and all separated that clause, in the process of catechesis, from Christ. Each explicated and in explicating, sought to teach the catechumen to bring certain connotations to those key words—father, almighty, creator. Canisius asked one question on “the first article”. The catechumen’s answer:

[The first article] shows us the first person of the Divinity, the heavenly and eternal father, for whom nothing is impossible or difficult to do, who alone through the Word brought forth everything visible as well as invisible from the nothingness, guards incessantly and steers with the highest good and wisdom

Peter Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>42</sup>

If we set Luther’s catechism next to Canisius’s, we can hear more fully the different emphases. While both take up Creation as a defining attribute of God—in the *Enchiridion*, Luther subtitles the first section, “On the Creation”—for Canisius, Creation is framed between God’s unlimited power and God’s care of humankind. In answer to that one, constant question for each text, “Was ist das”, in the *Enchiridion*, the catechumen was to answer (Figs. 26–27):<sup>43</sup>

I believe that God has created me with all that exists. God has given me and still preserves my body and soul: eyes, ears, and all limbs and senses; reason and all mental faculties. In addition, God daily and abundantly provides shoes and clothing, food and drink, house and farm, wife and children, fields, livestock, and all property—along with all the necessities and nourishment for this body and life. God protects me against all danger and shields and preserves me from evil. And all this is done out of pure, fatherly, and divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or

42 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 5.

43 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p.



FIGURE 26 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

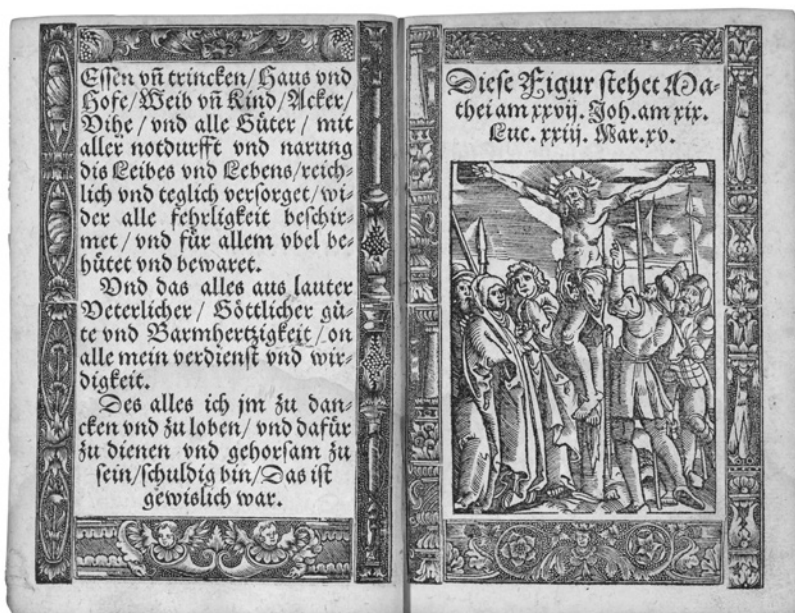


FIGURE 27 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

worthiness of mine at all! For all this I owe it to God to thank and praise, serve and obey him. This is most certainly true.<sup>44</sup>

Luther's catechisms focused on Creation in their teaching on the first part of the Creed.<sup>45</sup> Equally important, "all that exists" was secondary, for Luther, to God's creation of "me", the catechumen: body, soul, eyes, ears, limbs, senses, mind, as well as all that a person needs for life. Like Canisius's, Luther's catechisms also taught God's protection of humankind, and Luther added, "without any merit or worthiness of mine at all!" If Canisius's catechisms called for the catechumen to live in God, Luther's called for them "to thank and praise, serve and obey him"—to feel gratitude in the face of their own unworthiness.

The text was thus also an opportunity to teach anthropology and theology. This was at once more explicit and more extended in the Genevan Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism. The Genevan Catechism asked nine questions over two Sundays on "the first part God the Father". It began by taking up the attributes father, almighty, creator.

Minister.

Why do you call him Father?

Child.

It is with regard to Jesus Christ, who is the eternal Word, begotten [engendrée] by him before the centuries, who afterwards having been manifested to the world, was approved and declared to be his Son. But, because God is Father of Jesus Christ, it follows that he is also ours.

The Genevan Catechism, like the Heidelberg Catechism, as we shall see, construed "Father" differently than did either Canisius's or Luther's catechisms, which underlined paternal concern. The Genevan Catechism taught a two-fold understanding of "Father": foremost a relationship to Christ; secondarily a relationship to "us", whom the catechumen would learn, was "the faithful".

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44 Martin Luther, "The Small Catechism," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 354–55.

45 On the development of Luther's formulation, as well as its relation to his sermons and other works, see foremost Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Creed*, 59–104.

Minister.

What do you mean, that he is almighty?

Child.

It is not to say, he has a power he does not exercise, but that he has all creatures in his hand and subjection, that he disposes all things according to his providence, governs the world by his will, and guides all that he has made as he holds good.<sup>46</sup>

The Genevan Catechism accorded the power of God two questions. In the second, the minister underlined God's active agency in the world, "nothing is made without him, or with his permission and ordinance". That sense of God's active power in the world then led to Calvin's particular understanding of Creation:

Minister.

Why do you add that he is "Creator of heaven and earth"?

Child.

Because he is manifested to us through his works, we should seek him there. Because our understanding is not capable of comprehending his essence. But the world is like a mirror to us, in which we can contemplate insofar it is expedient for to know him.<sup>47</sup>

Creation, as the catechumen then affirmed, encompassed heaven and earth, celestial and terrestrial creatures. Unlike Luther's and Canisius's catechisms, however, the Genevan Catechism was less concerned with God's creating the world than with his governing it. As the catechumen recited at some length, God did not simply create the world and abandon it, but

rules it by his goodness, virtue and wisdom, the entire order of nature, sends the rain and the drought, the hailstorms, the tempests and the good times, fertility and sterility, health and sickness. In sum, he has all things at his commandment to serve him as he holds good.<sup>48</sup>

The affirmation of God's providence was followed by two questions on the devil, which at once affirmed God's omnipotence—"although he does not govern them by his Holy Spirit, he always bridles them"—and protection:

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46 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 33.

47 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 34.

48 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 35.

“we repose and rejoice, seeing that God promises to be our protector and to defend us”.<sup>49</sup>

Of the thirty-four questions on the Apostles’ Creed in the Heidelberg Catechism, three (numbers 26–28) concerned the first part. Two directly addressed the nature of God:

Question 26. What do you believe when you say: “I believe in God the Father almighty, [Creator] of heaven and earth”?

That the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who out of nothing created heaven and earth with all that is in them, who also upholds and governs them by his eternal counsel and providence, is for the sake of Christ his Son my God and my Father. I trust him so completely that I have no doubt that he will provide me with all things necessary for body and soul. Moreover, whatever evil he sends upon me in this troubled life he will turn to my good, for he is able to do it, being almighty God, and is determined to do it, being a faithful Father.

Question 27. What do you understand by the providence of God?

The almighty and ever-present power of God whereby he still upholds, as it were by his own hand, heaven and earth together with all creatures, and rules in such a way that leaves and grass, rain and drought, fruitful and unfruitful years, food and drink, health and sickness, riches and poverty, and everything else, come to us not by chance but by his fatherly hand.

The third question turned to the meaning of this particular understanding of God’s nature for the faithful:

Question 28. What advantage comes of acknowledging God’s creation and providence?

We learn that we are to be patient in adversity, grateful in the midst of blessing, and to trust our faithful God and Father for the future, assured that no creature shall separate us from his love, since all creatures are so completely in his hand that without his will they cannot even move.<sup>50</sup>

Each of the catechisms articulated a particular understanding of God. For Canisius, as for Luther, “Father” encapsulated the relationship of God to humankind—or more precisely “us” or “me”. In the Genevan and Heidelberg

49 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 35.

50 141–42.



Catechisms, “Father” was foremost the relationship of God to Christ. Canisius expanded “Creator” a little: “who alone brought forth everything visible as well as invisible from the nothingness”. For Luther, “Creator” was first an intimate relationship, and then the word that encapsulated God’s provision for humankind. For Calvin, God’s power was preeminent, the most important of the attributes for the catechumen to learn; “Creator” followed upon that power, but that power, as the catechism so carefully articulated, did not end with creation—for Calvin, God’s power was actively present in the world. For Calvin, God’s creation, his “works”, were a “mirror”, a way of seeing God, as through the glass darkly. The Heidelberg Catechism linked father, almighty, and creator in a single sentence, and all led towards “providence”.<sup>51</sup> Even as the Heidelberg Catechism adopted many of the same images the Genevan Catechism offered, it shaped a different understanding of providence—there was no mirror, but the evidence of food, shelter, sickness and health, in all of which the Catechism taught the catechumen to see “his fatherly hand” and distinctively, to “trust”.



FIGURE 28 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 6–7. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

51 On the Heidelberg Catechism’s teaching on predestination and God’s providence, see L.L.J. Visser, “Die Lehre von Gotts Vorsehung und Weltregiment,” in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. Lothar Coenen (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1963), 105–12.

## Christ

Canisius's catechisms divided the Apostles' Creed's articulation of Christ into six sentences, each of which had its own question (Fig. 28); the *Summa* or *Large Catechism* of 1555 concluded the section with a summary question. Following Luther's structuring of the Creed to teach foremost the Trinity, Luther's catechisms treated Christ in one section. The Genevan Catechism turned to Christ on the fifth Sunday, spending eight Sundays, two months, on Christ; on the second part of the Apostles' Creed, it had fifty-seven questions. The Heidelberg Catechism asked twenty-three questions—numbers 29 through 52.

Of the catechisms, Luther's was the only one to accord the second person of the Trinity the same length and attention as the first (Fig. 29).

What is this? Answer:

I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father in eternity, and also a true human being, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord. He has redeemed me, a lost and condemned human being. He has purchased



FIGURE 29 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

and freed me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver but with his holy, precious blood and with his innocent [unschuldigen] suffering and death. He has done all this in order that I may belong to him, live under him in righteousness, innocence [unschuld], and blessedness, just as he has risen from the dead and lives and rules eternally. This is most certainly true.<sup>52</sup>



FIGURE 30 Peter Canisius, *PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM*, in *Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae // recte instituendae ... // ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=// tholicorum, authore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO* (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564), 173v–74. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

52 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 355. In the *German Catechism*, he summarized the import of the second part of the Apostles' Creed: "Das sey nu die Summa dieses Artickels, das das wortlin HERRE auffs einfeltigste soviel heisse al sein Erloser, das ist der uns fom Teuffel zu Gotte, vom tod zum leben, von sund zur gerechtigkeit bracht hat und da bey erhelt". "Deudsch Catechismus. (Der Große Katechismus) 1529," WA 30, 1, 186.

In Luther's catechisms, the second part of the Creed was subtitled "On Redemption".<sup>53</sup> As with the first article, Luther's catechisms sought to teach "meaning": not of individual words, but of the text for a Christian life. Unlike other catechisms, Luther's did not seek to specify the particular relationship of Christ's divinity and humanity. "Meaning" resided in Christ's relationship to the catechumen: Christ's "Unschuldigkeit" over against human "Schuld", Christ's purchase of human sins with "holy, precious blood", suffering and death.

As the numbers of questions suggest, Canisius's catechisms, the Genevan Catechism, and the Heidelberg Catechism accorded the second person of the Trinity markedly greater attention than the first: half of all the questions on the Apostles' Creed in Canisius's catechisms; in the Genevan Catechism, more than six times as many as on the first person of the Trinity and more than on the third and fourth parts of the Creed combined; in the Heidelberg Catechism, more than seven times as many as on the first person, and roughly a fifth of all its questions on the Creed. For these three, the question of Christ was key.

As in Luther's catechisms, for these catechisms the section on Christ in the Apostles' Creed's was the site for their teaching on redemption and human salvation.

14 What is the sum of the articles on the second person of the Deity?

They intend, that foremost it will be believed, that Christ is true God and man, who has completed the work of human redemption, by which for us he is the way, the truth, and the life, through whom we are saved and freed.

Peter Canisius, *The Large Catechism*<sup>54</sup>

Of the three, Canisius's followed the text of the Apostles' Creed most closely, each of the six questions corresponding to the sentence of his twelve-part division (Figs. 28 and 30).<sup>55</sup> That said, in Canisius's catechisms the sentences on the second person of the Trinity offered key terms of Catholic Christology.

53 On the sources for Luther's formulation, his explication in sermons and writings, and an explication of the text in the Lutheran tradition, see Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Creed*, 105–27.

54 *Petrus Canisius Der Große Katechismus*, trans. and commentary Hubert Filser and Stephan Leimgruber (Regensburg, 2003), 83, 87.

55 *Petrus Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM*, in *Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte instituendae ...// ACCESSIT IN HAC //editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum, autore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO* (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564).

On the second article, “And in Jesus Christ, his Son”, Canisius’s *Little Catechism* set forth the ancient formulation of the relationship of Father and Son: “the natural son of God, from eternity proceeding from the one, consubstantial with the Father, our Lord and Savior, who frees us from perdition”.<sup>56</sup> If the second article sought to teach a succinct definition of consubstantiality, the third sought to teach a succinct definition of Christ’s two natures:

It proposes the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord. Because by it, the son of God, descending from heaven, assumed human nature, but in a truly singular mode, such that he was born without father, from the power of the Holy Spirit, and born of the immaculate virgin Mary.<sup>57</sup>

Again, Canisius’s catechisms taught a theologically specific term for the catechumen to conceptualize Christ’s human nature: “assumed” [assumpsit]. So, too, they reaffirmed not simply the virginity of Mary, but the perfection of that virginity, “illibata”.

The next article, on “suffered under Pontius Pilate”, reiterated that concept of assumption to move to suffering and redemption:

It touches the mystery of human redemption. For that same true Son of God following the assumption of that human nature, truly suffered extremes, to redeem us and all sins, whence it was allowed that he be a lamb without stain, and despite that, under Pontius Pilate suffer on the cross, die on the cross, and be buried.<sup>58</sup>

Again, the teaching on the fifth article of the Creed, “descended into hell”, reiterated that word key to Canisius’s catechisms’ teaching of Christology—“mystery”:

It encompasses the mystery of the resurrection of Christ, who descended to free souls from limbo, according to the Father, on the third day after death, he again took on the body, which he made alive again [factus est rediuiuus].<sup>59</sup>

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56 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 6.

57 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 7.

58 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 8.

59 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 9.



The ascension was another “mystery”.<sup>60</sup> The final image of Christ in Canisius’s catechisms’ teaching on the second person of the Trinity was the Last Judgment, “when Christ in the visible human flesh descends again from heaven, to do tremendous justice, of all upright and not upright [proborum ac improborum]”.<sup>61</sup> To each of these Canisius brought scriptural references.

If the structure of questions in Canisius’s catechisms followed the text of the Apostles’ Creed most closely, that of the Genevan Catechism ranged the farthest from it. Calvin’s catechisms taught the child to affiliate “Prophet”, a key notion in Calvin’s theology, with the name, “Christ”, (question 34, modern edition), then provided the child with the definition of this new connotation five questions later (Fig. 31):

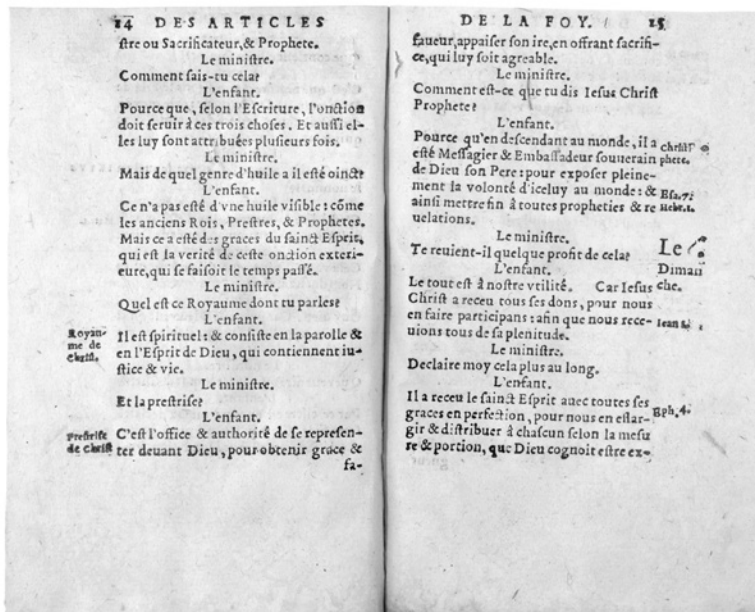


FIGURE 31 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Calvin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 14–15. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

60 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 6–11. Cf. the lengthier explication in the Summa, *Petrus Canisius Der Große Katechismus*, 83–88.

61 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 10.



Minister.

Why do you say Jesus Christ is Prophet?

Child.

Because in descending to the world, he was the sovereign messenger and ambassador of God his Father in order to explain clearly his will to the world and at the same time to bring an end to all prophecies and revelations.

In teaching the phrase, “Son of God”, Calvin’s catechisms also set forth an essential distinction between humankind and God:

Minister.

Why do you call him the only Son of God, seeing that God calls all of us his children?

Child.

We are not the children of God from nature, but solely by adoption and by grace, entirely because God wills to consider us so. But the Lord Jesus, who is begotten of the substance of his Father and is of the same essence, is by good right called the only Son. Because there is no one else than he alone who is natural.

Most of Calvin’s expansion of the teaching of the Apostles’ Creed on the second person of the Trinity addressed the difference between Christ’s human nature and humankind:

[49.]<sup>62</sup>

Minister.

What do you mean by the two expressions, “conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary”?

Child

That he had been formed in belly of the Virgin Mary, of the substance proper to her, in order to be the seed of David, as had been predicted; and nonetheless that this was done through the miraculous working of the Holy Spirit, without a man’s company.

[50.]

Minister.

Was it then required that he assume the flesh proper to us?

Child.

Yes. In as much as it was necessary that the disobedience committed against God by man be repaired in human nature; and also otherwise he could not be our Mediator to conjoin [conjoindre] us to God his Father.

...

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62 I include here the numbering of the modern edition to give a sense of elisions.

[70.]

Minister.

By this we see the difference between the torment that he suffered and that which sinners feel whom God punishes in his anger. For what had been temporary in him is perpetual in others, and what had been for him solely a prick to break the surface for them is a sword which pierces them mortally to the heart.

Child.

That is so. For Jesus Christ did not cease always hoping in the Father in the midst of such distress; but sinners whom God has condemned despair and vent their spleen, like the blasphemer.

...

[76.]

Minister.

Is he ascended in this way so that he is no more on earth?

Child.

Yes. For, after he had done all that the Father had enjoined him to do and which was required for our salvation, it was no longer his business that he converse with the world.

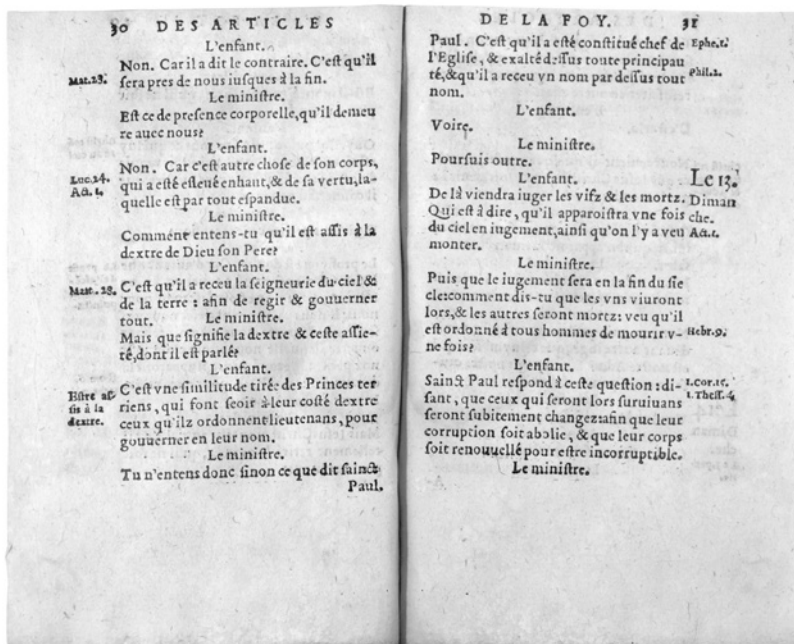


FIGURE 32 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Jean Caluin. // Ephé. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 30-1. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

...

[78.] Minister.

But is Jesus Christ, ascending to heaven, so withdrawn from the world that he is no longer with us?

Child.

No. For he has said the contrary: it is that he will be close to us to the end.

[79.] Minister.

Is it corporeal presence that remains with us?

Child.

No. For his body, which has been raised on high, is something other than his virtue [vertu] which is spread everywhere.

Thus, children in Geneva began learning early Calvin's particular understanding of "flesh", of "human nature", and of the relationship of humanity and divinity in Christ. For them, it was to be anchored to the Apostles' Creed—the core statement of belief. And that belief, as the Genevan Catechism also taught, was a source of comfort, before Christ who sits in judgment:

[87.] Minister.

We should not dread the last judgment such that we hold it in horror.

Child.

Not at all, since we shall not find ourselves before any other judge than the same who is our lawyer [avocat] and has taken our cause in hand to defend it.

Calvin, *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>63</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism largely followed the text of the Apostles' Creed, but even more than it had done with the first article of the Creed, it sought foremost to bind the catechumen to the second person of the Trinity (Fig. 33).<sup>64</sup>

Question 29. Why is the Son of God called Jesus, which means "Savior"?

Because he saves us from our sins, and because salvation is to be sought or found in no other.<sup>65</sup>

63 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 36–46.

64 CATECHE-//SIS RELIGIONIS // CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRA-//DITVR IN ECCLESIS ET // SCHOLIS PALA-//TINATVS (Heidelberg: Michael Schirat & Johannes Mayer, 1563).

65 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 142.

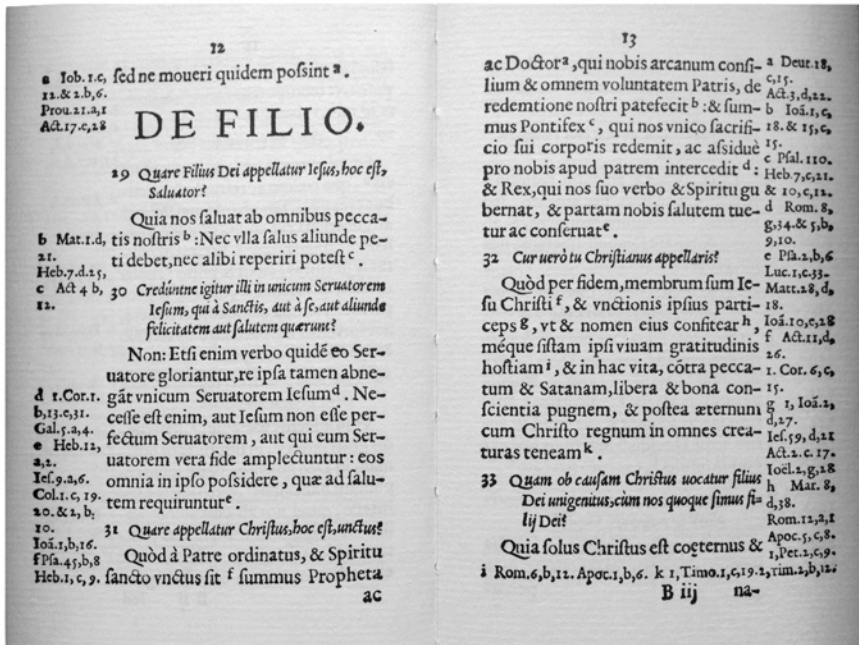


FIGURE 33 CATECHE//SIS RELIGIONIS//CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRA//DITVR IN ECCLESIIIS  
 ET//SCHOLIS PALA//TINATVS (Heidelberg: Michael Schiratz & Johannes Mayer,  
 1563), 12–13.

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism taught the catechu-  
 men to associate a number of words—and roles or identities—with the word  
 “Christ”:

Question 31. Why is he called “Christ,” that is, the “Anointed One”?

Because he is ordained by God the Father and anointed with the Holy  
 Spirit to be our chief Prophet and Teacher, fully revealing to us the secret  
 purpose and will of God concerning our redemption; to be our only High  
 Priest, having redeemed us by the one sacrifice of his body and ever inter-  
 ceding for us with the Father; and to be our eternal King, governing us by  
 his Word and Spirit, and defending and sustaining us in the redemption  
 he has won for us.<sup>66</sup>

The Genevan Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism shared the affiliation  
 of Prophet with “Christ,” though the Heidelberg Catechism did not announce

66 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 142–43.

the end of prophecy, nor did it pursue the identification of Christ as Prophet. In linking “Christ”, “Anointed”, and the priesthood, the two catechisms also implicitly circumscribed the designation ‘priest’, which the Heidelberg Catechism further delimited, “our only High Priest”.

As the Genevan Catechism had done, so, too, did the Heidelberg Catechism take up the name “Christian” in the section on the second person of the Trinity. But the Heidelberg Catechism taught a different lesson:

Question 32. But why are you called a Christian?

Because through faith I share in Christ and thus in his anointing, so that I may confess his name, offer myself a living sacrifice of gratitude to him, and fight against sin and the devil with a free and good conscience throughout this life and hereafter rule with him in eternity over all creatures.

Question 33. Why is he called “God’s only-begotten Son,” since we are also God’s children?

Because Christ alone is God’s own eternal Son, whereas we are accepted for his sake as children of God by grace.<sup>67</sup>

The Genevan Catechism embedded in its teaching on the second person of the Trinity not only Calvin’s express distinction between Christ’s humanity and the nature all human beings share, but also his particular understanding of human sinfulness. Even as the Heidelberg Catechism took up the name, “Christian”, and distinguished those who bear the name from the person of “Christ”, it bound Christian and Christ: “share”, “rule with him”, “accepted for his sake as children of God by grace”.

The Heidelberg Catechism also taught a distinctive Christology:

Question 35. What is the meaning of: “Conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary”?

That the eternal Son of God, who is and remains true and eternal God, took upon himself our true manhood [menschliche natur/naturam humanam] from the flesh and blood of the virgin Mary through the action of the Holy Spirit, so that he might also be the true seed of David, like his fellow men [brüdern/fratribus] in all things, except sin.

Question 36. What benefit do you receive from the holy conception and birth of Christ?

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67 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 143.

That he is our Mediator, and that, in God's sight, he covers over with his innocence and perfect holiness the sinfulness in which I have been conceived.<sup>68</sup>

The catechumen of the Heidelberg Catechism learned that Christ “took on” [an sich genomen hat/ assumst] not flesh, but “human nature”, from the flesh and blood of Mary, through the action of the Holy Spirit. This was far more detail than either the catechumen of Canisius’s catechisms, large and small, or Luther’s catechisms, large and small, learned. Even as it echoed the notion of the preservation of David’s seed, the Heidelberg Catechism articulated a different understanding of the relationship among Christ, Mary, and the Holy Spirit, and a different sense of the location of human sinfulness.

Of the catechisms treated in this chapter, the Heidelberg Catechism attended most closely to Christ’s suffering (Fig. 34). It accorded the single word “suffered” its own question:

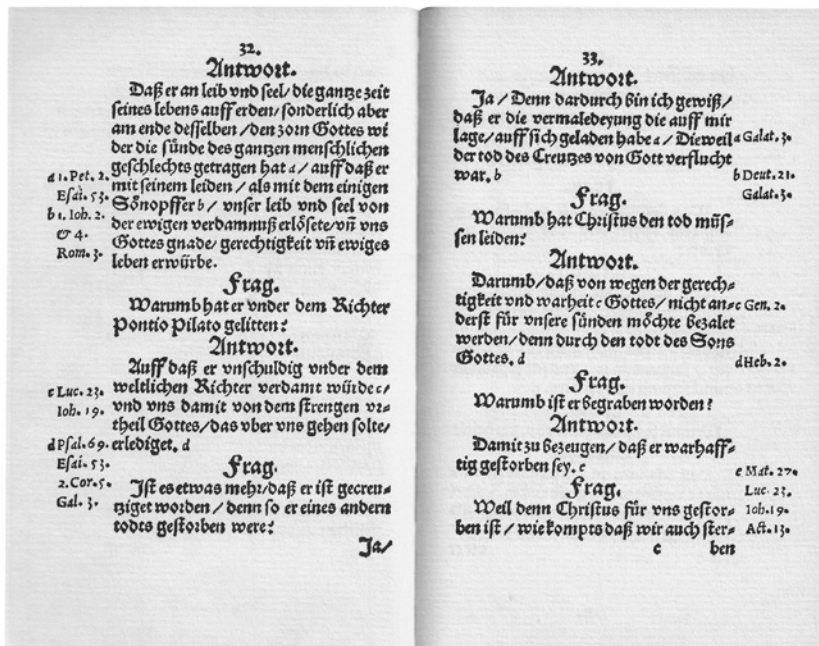


FIGURE 34 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 32–33.

68 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 143.



Question 37. What do you understand by the word “suffered”?

That throughout his life on earth, but especially at the end of it, he bore in body and soul the wrath of God against the sin of the whole human race, so that by his suffering, as the only expiatory sacrifice, he might redeem our body and soul from everlasting damnation, and might obtain for us God’s grace, righteousness, and eternal life.<sup>69</sup>

Not only did the Heidelberg Catechism extend “suffering” to encompass the entire life of Christ, but “body and soul” both suffered, bore the wrath. That suffering was “the only expiatory sacrifice”—which would then resonate with the Catechism’s subsequent teaching on the Eucharist. The Catechism also, in this moment, linked in that single sentence Christ’s body and soul, suffering, sacrifice, and the body and soul of the catechumen—there in the choice of single nouns, not “our bodies and souls”, but “our body and soul” [unser leib und seel/corpus & animam nostrum]. Indeed, “suffering” was the leitmotif of the Heidelberg Catechism’s teaching on the second person of the Trinity:

Question 44. Why is there added: “He descended into hell”?

That in my severest tribulations I may be assured that Christ my Lord has redeemed me from hellish anxieties and torment by the unspeakable anguish, pains, and terrors which he suffered in his soul both on the cross and before.<sup>70</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism also taught a distinctive understanding of “resurrection”, again framing the text of the Creed in terms of “our benefit”:

Question 45. What benefit do we receive from “the resurrection” of Christ?

First, by his resurrection he has overcome death that he might make us share in the righteousness which he has obtained for us through his death. Second, we too are now raised by his power to a new life. Third, the resurrection of Christ is a sure pledge to us of our blessed resurrection.<sup>71</sup>

As with the Genevan Catechism, the final portion of the narrative of Christ’s life in the Creed was an opportunity for the Heidelberg Catechism to clarify the relationship of Christ’s humanity and his divinity. As with the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism followed the question on Christ’s ascent with ones on his “presence”:

69 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 143–44.

70 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 145.

71 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 145.

Question 47. Then, is not Christ with us unto the end of the world, as he has promised us?

Christ is true man and true God. As a man he is no longer on earth, but in his divinity, majesty, grace, and Spirit, he is never absent from us.

Question 48. But are not the two natures in Christ separated from each other in this way, if the humanity is not wherever the divinity is?

Not at all: for since divinity is incomprehensible and everywhere present, it must follow that the divinity is indeed beyond the bounds of humanity which it has assumed, and is nonetheless ever in that humanity as well, and remains personally united to it.<sup>72</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism approached “presence” spatially—in terms of boundedness and that word so central to Calvin’s thinking, “incomprehensible”. But it posited a distinctive understanding: Christ’s divinity was “in” his humanity, as well as united to it. The next question and the last on the second person brought home how Christ was bound to humankind:

Question 49. What benefit do we receive from Christ’s ascension into heaven?

First, he is our Advocate in the presence of his Father in heaven. Second, that we have our flesh in heaven as a sure pledge that he, as the head, will also take us, his members, up to himself. Third, that he sends us his Spirit as a counterpledge by whose power we seek what is above, where Christ is, sitting at the right hand of God, and not things that are on earth.

...

Question 52. What comfort does the return of Christ “to judge the living and the dead” give you?

That in all affliction and persecution I may await with head held high the very Judge from heaven who has already submitted himself to the judgment of God for me and has removed all the curse from me; that he will cast all his enemies and mine into everlasting condemnation, but he shall take me, together with all his elect, to himself into heavenly joy and glory.<sup>73</sup>

In its final question on the second person of the Trinity, the Heidelberg Catechism returned to first person singular, “I”, “me”, binding the catechumen individually to Christ, with whom, the Catechism had taught, the catechumen was united, not simply in nature, but in suffering.

<sup>72</sup> “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 145.

<sup>73</sup> “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 146.

## The Holy Spirit and the Church

While the three Evangelical catechisms agreed on the division of the first and second persons of the Trinity, they did not agree on the structuring of what were five sentences in Canisius's catechisms. In Luther's catechisms and the Heidelberg Catechism, it was a single sentence, binding Holy Spirit, church, communion of saints, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life. In Calvin's catechisms, "I believe in the Holy Spirit" was at once a clause in a single sentence and a discrete part, separate from the last four clauses of the Creed.

Canisius's catechisms did not simply separate the Holy Spirit from the Church by punctuation (Fig. 35). The eighth article decreed the third person of the Trinity, "who, proceeding from the Father and Son, is the one, true, eternal God, and rules with the Father and Son, and in the same manner, with them,



FIGURE 35 Peter Canisius, *PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM*, in *Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRINAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae // recte instituendae . . . // ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Catholicorum, authore D. PETRO CANISIO* (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564), 174<sup>v</sup>–175. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

is also adored and glorified”.<sup>74</sup> The ninth article, “the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints”, received the lengthiest explication of all.

The Church teaches us four things are to be believed. First, the Church is one, certainly in one spirit of Jesus Christ, in one faith, the doctrine of faith and the sacraments, clearly in one vicarate of Christ, head and rector of the universal Church, as well as the succession of Saint Peter. Second, it is holy, because it is sanctified to Christ, its head and spouse, conjoined through faith and sacraments, governed in perpetuity by the Holy Spirit.

Third, it is Catholic as well as universal, because diffused throughout the whole orb, it comprehends all Christian faithful in all times.

Fourth and last, in this same Church is the communion of saints, not only, those faithful who were pilgrims on the earth, but also those who threw off their mortal flesh or reign in heaven, or those who will reign, [who are now] in the fire of purgatory, who expiate their sordid sins. These are members of one body who benefit from shared offices, merits, orations, and the sacrifice of the Most Holy Mass. They also participate virtuously in the sacrament of the Church.<sup>75</sup>

As Canisius's catechisms taught, Christ was the head of the Church. Although the members of the Church believed, following the teaching of the Apostles' Creed, that the Holy Spirit was the third person of the Trinity, fully equal in divinity to God and Christ, the Holy Spirit was not what made the Church. Nor, significantly, was the Church defined by baptism in Canisius's catechisms; it was defined by doctrine, sacraments, the succession of Peter, purgatory, and the Mass.

In the next article, on the forgiveness of sins, Canisius's catechisms reinforced the preceding teaching: forgiveness of sins “belongs solely in the Catholic Church through the power of the Lord's suffering”.<sup>76</sup> The remaining two articles did not take up “the Church”, but taught that the resurrected would be divided between the good and the bad, and contrasted the eternal life promised those whom Christ chose to what the evil should fear. They brought home, the consequences of not belonging.

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74 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 11–12.

75 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 13–14.

76 *Petrus Canisius Der Große Katechismus*, 90.

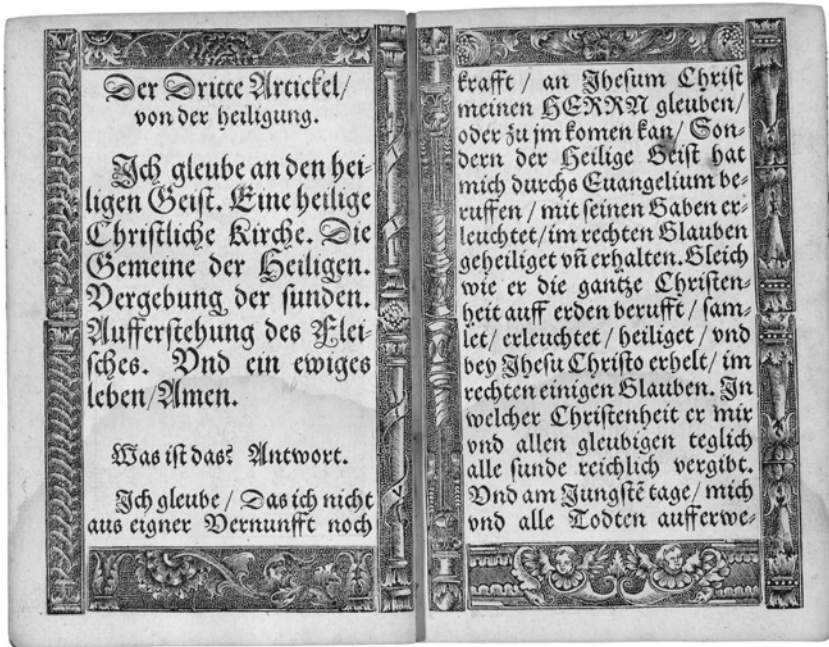


FIGURE 36 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Luther's structuring of the Apostles' Creed suggested the fundamental connection he saw between the Holy Spirit and the Church (Fig. 36).<sup>77</sup> Albeit briefly, his catechisms taught the nature of the connection:

What is this? Answer:

I believe that by my understanding or strength I cannot believe in Jesus Christ my Lord or come to him, but instead the Holy Spirit has called me through the gospel, enlightened me with his gifts, made me holy and kept me in the true faith, just as he calls, gathers, enlightens, and makes holy the whole Christian church on earth and keeps it with Jesus Christ in the one common, true faith. Daily in this Christian church the Holy Spirit abundantly forgives all sins—mine and those of all believers. On the Last Day the Holy Spirit will raise me and all the dead and will give to me and all believers in Christ eternal life. This is most certainly true.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>77</sup> For the development of Luther's teaching of the third article of the Creed, as well as connections with his other writings, see Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Creed*, 209–306. See also, Eilert Herms, *Luthers Auslegung des Dritten Artikels* (Tübingen, 1987).

<sup>78</sup> Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 355–56.



Luther's catechisms taught that the Holy Spirit was active, calling the faithful, enlightening them, making them holy, keeping them. So, too, the Holy Spirit forgave sins. They taught that the Holy Spirit raised the dead and gave eternal life. In them, the third article was subtitled, "On Being Made Holy".<sup>79</sup> Luther's catechisms taught the Trinity as Creation, Redemption, and Being Made Holy. Their emphasis was not persons, but modes of agency in the world—who of the Trinity did what in the lives of humankind.

The remaining two sections (Figs. 37–40) on the Apostles' Creed in the Genevan Catechism encompassed together 23 questions, taught the fourteenth through the seventeenth Sundays, four questions on the Holy Spirit (numbers 88–91 in the modern edition) on one Sunday, and 19, over three Sundays, on

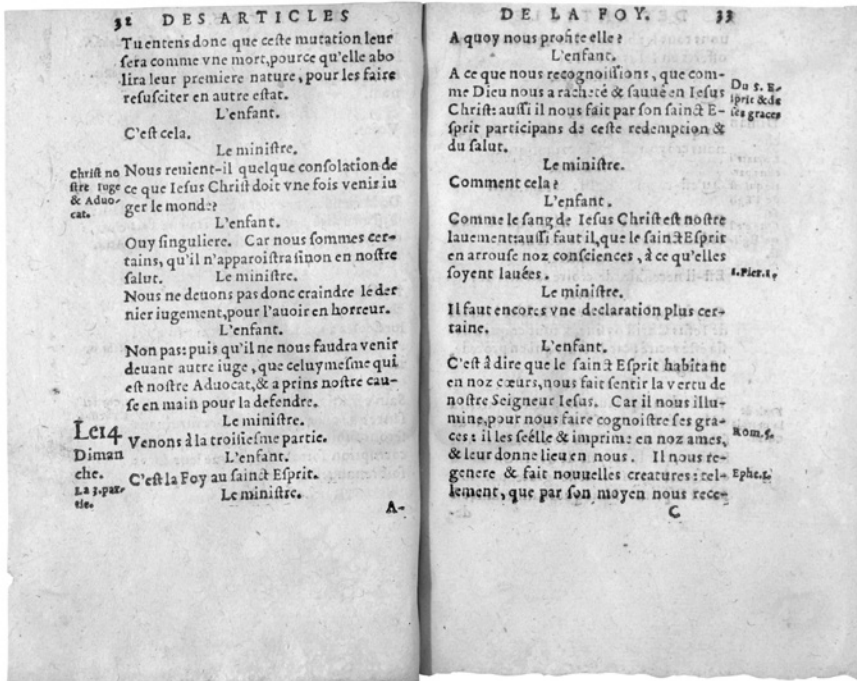


FIGURE 37 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 32–33. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

79 The modern edition, from which these texts come, notes that the English word 'Sanctification' does not capture the linguistic connection Luther made between the Holy Spirit and its working in human lives, Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 355, note 56.



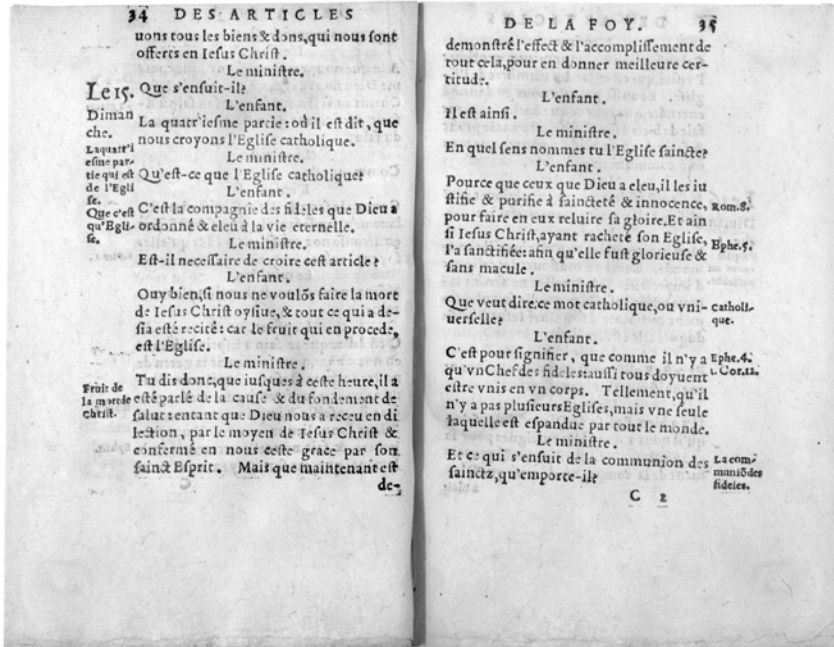


FIGURE 38 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME de Geneve: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, fait en maniere de dialogue, où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant respond.* // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // *Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine des Prophetes & des Apostres* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 34–35. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

the remaining clauses of the Creed, once again expanding to touch upon key concepts in Calvin's theology which other catechisms did not affiliate with the Creed. The teaching on the Holy Spirit was, relative to the other persons of the Trinity, brief:

Minister.

Let us come to the third part.

Child.

It is the faith in the Holy Spirit.

Minister.

How does it profit us?

Child.

That we acknowledge that, as God has redeemed and saved us in Jesus Christ, so, too, he makes us by his Holy Spirit participants in this redemption and salvation.

Minister.

How?

Child.

As the blood of Jesus Christ is our washing, so, too, is it that the Holy Spirit sprinkles our consciences so that they are washed.

Minister.

This requires again a more certain declaration.

Child.

That is to say, that the Holy Spirit, inhabiting our hearts, makes us sense the virtue of our Lord Jesus. For it illumines us in order to make us know his graces; he seals and imprints them on our souls and gives them a place [lieu] in us. It regenerates us and makes us new creatures, such that, through his means, we receive all the goods and gifts which are offered us in Jesus Christ.<sup>80</sup>

In Calvin's catechisms, the Holy Spirit's agency was different: it enabled human beings to participate in salvation, to sense the power of Christ, to know. It made a place for Christ in the hearts of the faithful; it *makes* the faithful—it makes a person Christian.

The remaining questions took up “the Church”, which encompassed the remaining clauses of the Apostles’ Creed, as well as definitions of true faith, as we have seen, good works, penitence, and service to God. The Church, the Genevan Catechism taught, “is the company of the faithful, whom God has ordained and chosen to eternal life”, as the next question and answer taught, itself a tenet of membership in the Church.<sup>81</sup> The Genevan Catechism taught the catechumen to associate with the one word “Holy” connotations specific to the faithful it was addressing:

those whom God has chosen, justified, and purified to sanctity and innocence, in order to make them reflect his glory. So, too, Jesus Christ has redeemed his Church, sanctified it, so that it may be glorious and without stain.<sup>82</sup>

Like Canisius's catechisms, Calvin's catechisms taught that “Catholic” meant universal, “unified in one body”, under “one head of the faithful”; there were

80 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 47.

81 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 48.

82 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 48.

not many churches, but “one alone, and that one is spread [épardue] over all the world”.<sup>83</sup> “The communion of saints”, the Genevan Catechism taught,

is to express better the unity among the members of the Church. So, too, [the phrase] is given to us to mean that everything that our Lord has done for the good of his Church is for the profit and salvation of each faithful person, in order that all have communion together.<sup>84</sup>

That Church, it taught, would not be perfect until it was fully conjoined with Christ. And then, the Genevan Catechism connected to the Apostles’ Creed Calvin’s teaching on the two Churches, visible and invisible:

Minister.

And is it possible for others than the faithful to know this Church?

Child.

There is certainly a visible Church of God, following the signs [enseignes] he has given us to know it. But here it is properly said of the company of those whom God has chosen to save, which the eye cannot fully see.<sup>85</sup>

Like Canisius’s catechisms, the Genevan Catechism taught that forgiveness of sins occurred only within the Church (questions 104–105 in the modern edition)—though God alone (questions 102–103) has the power to forgive.

The Genevan Catechism’s teaching on the final phrase of the Creed was the lengthiest of the catechisms under consideration here (Fig. 39). For it, the last phrase was an opportunity to teach a particular way of thinking about life in the world.

Minister.

What follows?

Child.

“The resurrection of the flesh and eternal life.”

Minister.

Why is this article put there?

Child.

To show us that our happiness does not rest in the earth, which serves a double end. First, towards the end that we consider ourselves passing

83 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 48.

84 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 49.

85 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 49.

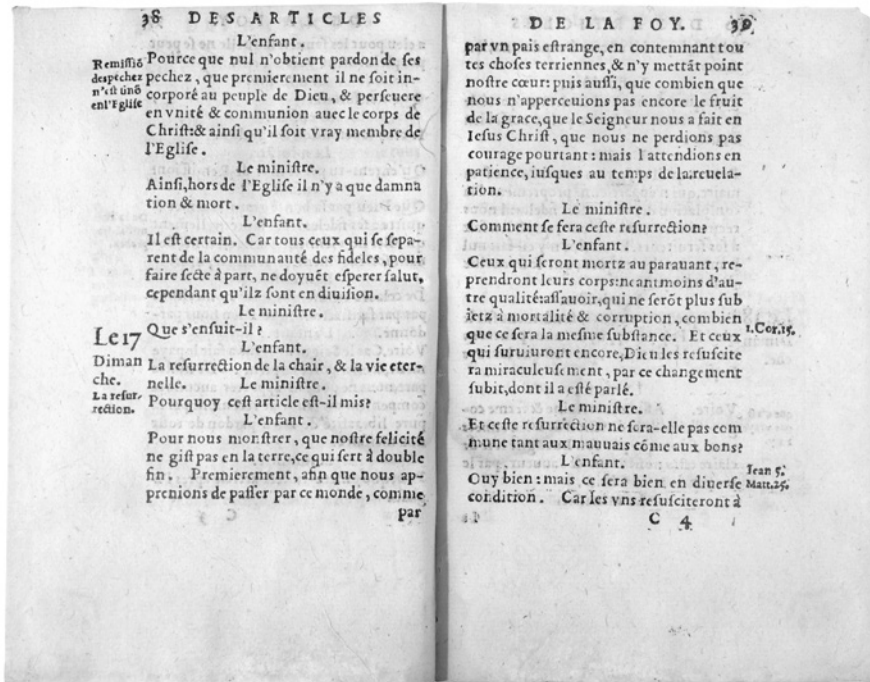


FIGURE 39 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneve: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruction des enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 38–39. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

through this world as though through a strange land, and condemn all earthly things and do not let them penetrate our heart. So, too, however much we do not perceive the fruit of the grace that the Lord has given us in Jesus Christ, that we do not lose courage, but attend in patience until the time of Revelation.

Christianity had long fostered through sermons, images, devotional literature and practices a sense of time divided—this life and the next. Augustine had given it perhaps its fullest articulation in *The City of God*, which also posited a sense that “this world” was not the home of the Christian, a spatial and psychological division as well. In some ways, this passage in Genevan Catechism can be said to belong to that tradition. But among the catechisms under consideration here, it was a singular expansion of the text of the Apostles’ Creed. Neither Canisius nor Luther, nor, as we shall see, the Heidelberg Catechism

anchored to the ancient affirmation of core Christian tenets—the resurrection of the flesh and the life everlasting—a sense of living in the world as “a strange land” [un pays étrange].

Minister.

How will this resurrection occur?

Child.

Those who were previously dead retake their bodies, which are nonetheless of another quality, to know, they are no longer subject to mortality and corruption, even though they are of the same substance. And again those who survive, God will miraculously raise from the dead [ressuscitera], by that sudden change of which he has already spoken.

Minister.

And this resurrection will not be the same for both the evil and the good?

Child.

Yes, it will, but to diverse conditions. For the one will be revived to salvation and joy, the others to condemnation and death.

Minister.

Why then does it speak solely of the eternal life, and not at the same time of hell?

Child.

Because nothing is couched in this summary that does not pertain properly to the consolation of the consciences of the faithful; it recites to us solely those goods that God makes for his servants. So, too, no mention is made of those iniquities which are excluded from his Kingdom.<sup>86</sup>

The Genevan Catechism accorded the resurrection of the flesh greater attention than did Canisius's or Luther's catechisms, teaching the child to think in terms of bodies revived [ressuscitera] and purified, but not essentially altered. Like Canisius's catechisms, and unlike Luther's, the Genevan Catechism taught an explicit division of humankind that followed upon its teaching of “the Church”: those whose bodies were freed from corruption and mortality, who received, as salvation, an eternal life of joy; and those whose bodies, equally freed from corruption and mortality, faced an eternity of damnation. Implicitly, the catechumen was also taught that in the act of learning the Apostles' Creed, learning to speak the words “I believe” and to hold the text as true, s/he implicitly belonged to those to whom the Creed spoke, “the faithful”.

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86 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 50–51.

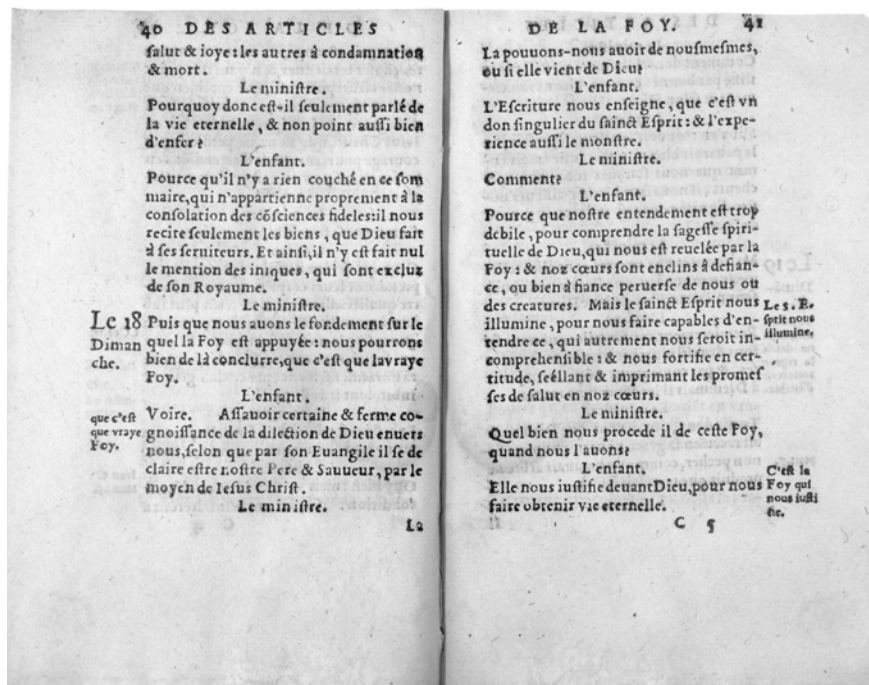


FIGURE 40 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneua: Jean Girard, 1549), 40–41. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

The remaining questions and answers moved beyond the Apostles' Creed, though they fell within the section in the Genevan Catechism on “faith” (Fig. 40). Questions numbered 111 and 112 in the modern edition addressed “true faith”. The next question returned to the Holy Spirit, which “makes us able to intend what otherwise would be incomprehensible to us, fortifies us in certitude, sealing and imprinting the promises of salvation in our hearts”.<sup>87</sup> From the working of the Holy Spirit, the Genevan Catechism then turned to justification—“[faith] justifies us before God”—and good works: “because we are all poor sinners, we must search elsewhere than our dignity to respond to the judgment of God”.<sup>88</sup> Everything the catechumen does, the Genevan Catechism taught, from her or his own nature is vicious and for that reason, cannot please

87 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 52.

88 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 52.



God—three questions and answers reiterate the impossibility of human works being anything other than “perverse”. “We are justified by faith”, the Genevan Catechism taught, because “we” believe in the promises of the Gospel—as the “Minister” reinforced, “You mean that, as God has presented [the promise] by the Gospels, he has also presented us with the means to receive, that is, by faith”.<sup>89</sup> On the twentieth Sunday of catechesis, the Genevan Catechism continued its teaching on works, which could not earn justification, but which God would recognize when they were done in consciousness of God:

Minister.

But can we believe ourselves to be justified, without doing good works?

Child.

It is impossible. For to believe in Jesus Christ is to receive what he has given us. He promises not only to deliver us from death and to return us to the grace of God his Father by the merit of his innocence, but also to regenerate us by his Spirit to make us live in holiness.<sup>90</sup>

The last questions turned to penitence—which “induces us to mortify our flesh to be governed and led by the Holy Spirit in service to God”—and concluded with two questions on “the Christian life”: “obedience to God’s will”, “not according to our fantasy, but to his pleasure”.<sup>91</sup>

Like Luther’s catechisms, the Heidelberg Catechism taught the remaining part of the Apostles’ Creed as a single unit (Fig. 41). It followed, however, something of the same logic as the Genevan Catechism, albeit in twelve questions, moving from the Holy Spirit to righteousness. It taught a distinctive definition of the Holy Spirit:

Question 53. What do you believe concerning “the Holy Spirit”?

First, that, with the Father and the Son, he is equally eternal God; second, that God’s Spirit is also given to me, preparing me through a true faith to share in Christ and all his benefits, that he comforts me and will abide with me forever.<sup>92</sup>

89 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 53.

90 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 54.

91 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 54.

92 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 146.

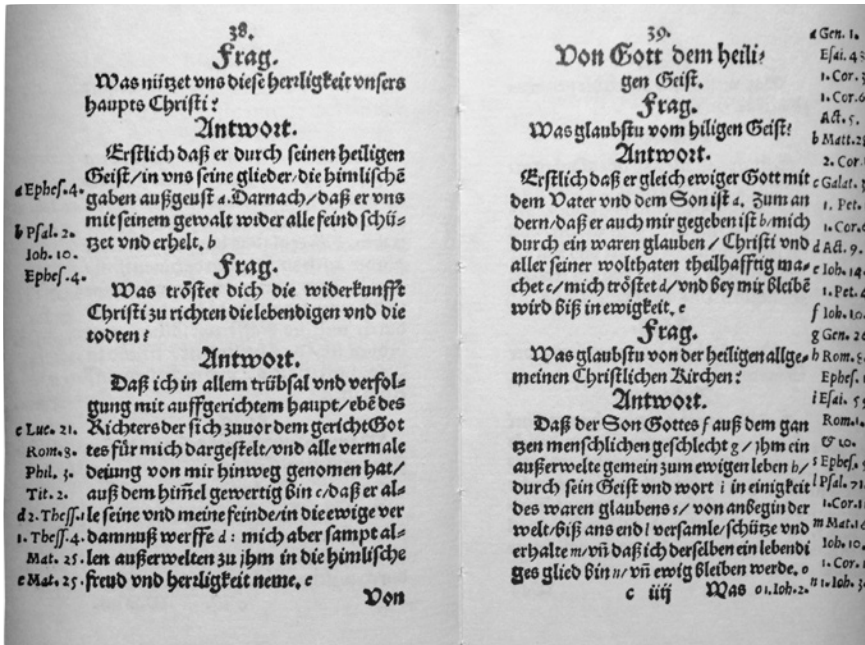


FIGURE 41 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Underricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu-// len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 38–39.*

As with Canisius's catechisms, the Heidelberg Catechism separated the Holy Spirit from the Church:

Question 54. What do you believe concerning “the holy catholic church”?

I believe that, from the beginning to the end of the world, and from among the whole human race, the Son of God, by his Spirit and his Word, gathers, protects, and preserves for himself, in the unity of the truth faith, a congregation chosen for eternal life. Moreover, I believe that I am and forever will remain a living member of it.<sup>93</sup>

93 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 147.

And blurred any distinction between the Church and “the communion of saints”:

Question 55. What do you understand by “the communion of saints”?

First, that believers one and all, as partakers of the Lord Christ, and all his treasures and gifts, shall share in one fellowship. Second, that each one ought to know that he is obliged to use his gifts freely and with joy for the benefit and welfare of other members.<sup>94</sup>

Unlike Canisius’s catechisms and the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism did not link membership in the Church with the forgiveness of sins:

Question 56. What do you believe concerning “the forgiveness of sins”?

That, for the sake of Christ’s reconciling work, God will no more remember my sins or the sinfulness with which I have to struggle all my life long; but that he graciously imparts to me the righteousness of Christ so that I may never come into condemnation.<sup>95</sup>

And in keeping with its emphasis on the singular relationship of the catechumen to the Trinity—and consistent with its theme of “comfort”<sup>96</sup>—it also eschewed the kind of separation of members and non-members, saved and damned, that Canisius’s catechisms and the Genevan Catechism taught. It did not bring forward the body in its teaching of the resurrection, or describe the experience of eternal life for others:

Question 57. What comfort does “the resurrection of the body” give you?

That after this life my soul shall be immediately taken up to Christ, its head, and that this flesh of mine, raised by the power of Christ, shall be reunited with my soul, and be conformed to the glorious body of Christ.

Question 58. What comfort does the article concerning “the life everlasting” give you?

That, since I now feel in my heart the beginning of eternal joy, I shall possess, after this life, perfect blessedness, which no eye has seen, nor

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94 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 147.

95 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 147.

96 On the theme of “comfort” in the Heidelberg Catechism, see Fred H. Klooster, *Our Only Comfort: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism* (Grand Rapids, 2001), 1: Introduction.

ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, and thereby praise God forever.<sup>97</sup>

These questions, framed not in terms of definitions, but of “comfort”, concluded the Heidelberg Catechism’s teaching of the Apostles’ Creed. In framing the questions in terms of comfort, the Heidelberg Catechism shifted the very notion of ‘meaning’ from definition to the pertinence of each of the clauses to the lived experience of the individual catechumen.

Following these questions on the Apostles’ Creed, the Heidelberg Catechism asked six questions on righteousness and good works, which led to its teaching of the sacraments (Fig. 42). Insofar as they did not refer back to the text of the Creed, these questions fall outside the scope of this chapter, but like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism affiliated these questions spatially, in the logic of the codex, with the Creed. Briefly, the Heidelberg Catechism

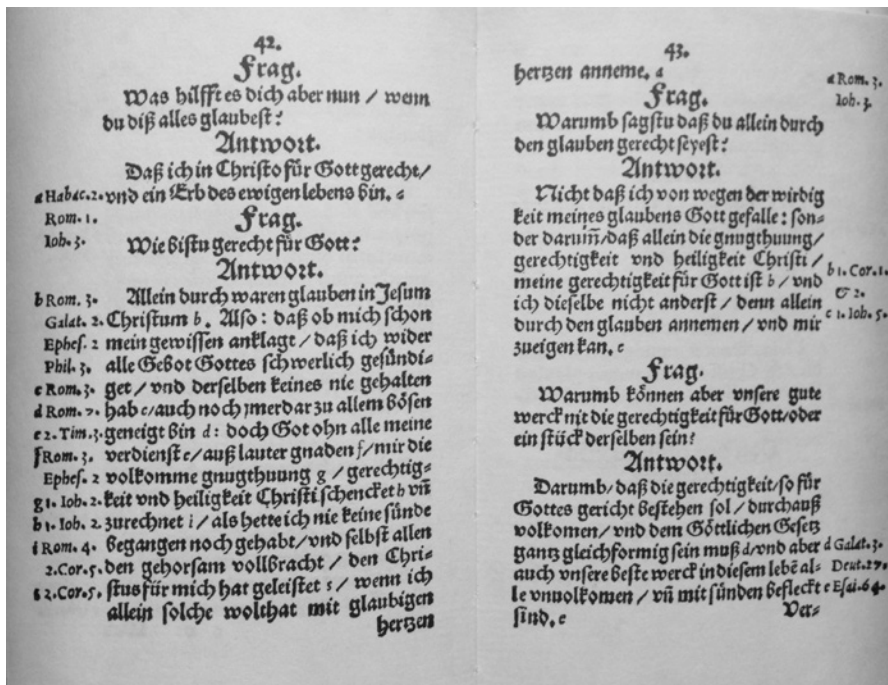


FIGURE 42 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Underricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu // len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 42–43.*

97 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 147–48.

affirmed righteousness through faith alone, a fundamental tenet of Evangelical Christianity, that “I am ever still prone to all that is evil, nevertheless, God, without any merit of my own, out of pure grace, grants me the benefits of the perfect expiation of Christ, imputing to me his righteousness and holiness . . . if only I accept such favor with a trusting heart”.<sup>98</sup> The next questions reinforced human unworthiness, Christ’s satisfaction, faith alone, the impossibility that human works can be good.<sup>99</sup> And like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism taught that a life of faith is active:

Question 64. But does not this teaching make people careless and sinful?

No, for it is impossible for those who are ingrafted into Christ by true faith not to bring forth the fruit of gratitude.

Question 65. Since, then, faith alone makes us share in Christ and all his benefits, where does such faith originate?

The Holy Spirit creates it in our hearts by the preaching of the holy gospel, and confirms it by the use of the holy sacraments.<sup>100</sup>

### Conclusion

By the end of the section on the Apostles’ Creed, catechumens of Canisius’s catechisms, Luther’s catechisms, the Genevan Catechism, and the Heidelberg Catechism had “learned by heart” to affiliate different connotations with the three names of the persons of the Trinity—God, Christ, Holy Spirit—and to conceptualize “the Church” in terms of a “faithful” who believed, after the catechesis of the Apostles’ Creed, in a vocabulary and connotations specific to that catechism. The catechumen was to have learned a distinctive way of entering the world—of understanding the relationship of his or her person to God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and eternity. The teaching deepened and made more precise what it meant to “be a Christian”.

98 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 148.

99 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 148.

100 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 149.

## Commandments

I. 1. There are two Ways, one of Life and one of Death; but there is a great difference between the two Ways.

2. Now the Way of Life is this: First, Thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have done to thee, neither do thou to another. . . .

II. 1. And the second commandment of the Teaching is:

2. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not corrupt boys; thou shalt not commit fornication. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not use witchcraft; thou shalt not practice sorcery. Thou shalt not procure abortion, nor shalt thou kill the new-born child. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.

3. Thou shalt not forswear thyself (swear falsely). Thou shalt not bear false witness. Thou shalt not speak evil; thou shalt not bear malice.

4. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for duplicity of tongue is a snare of death.

5. Thy speech shall not be false, nor vain, but fulfilled by deed.

6. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malignant, nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor.

7. Thou shalt not hate any one, but some thou shalt rebuke and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thine own soul (or, life).

*The Didache*<sup>1</sup>

### The Ten Commandments in the Western Church

Like the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments entered Christianity as a text largely taught orally.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Lord's Prayer, Jesus did not give his followers specific words. The Gospels contain no recitation of the ancient Exodus or

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1 Philip Schaff, ed., *The Oldest Church Manual Called The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (New York, 1885), 162–70.

2 Dominik Markl, ed., *The Decalogue and its Cultural Influence* (Sheffield, 2013).



Deuteronomic text.<sup>3</sup> The Didache is perhaps our earliest evidence of the ways his followers understood Jesus to have both continued and offered a transformative gloss on what Moses received on Mount Sinai,<sup>4</sup> here at Matthew 22:34–40:

When the Pharisees hear that he had silenced the Sadducees, they gathered together and one of them, a lawyer, asked him a question to test him. “Teacher, which commandment in the law is the greatest?” He said to him, “‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.’ This is the greatest and first commandment. And a second is like it: ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”<sup>5</sup>

For Augustine, whose thought shaped western Christian considerations of the Ten Commandments, this and its like in Mark 12:28–34 provided the organizing principle that divided the ten into the two tables, between amor dei and amor proximi, love of God and love of neighbor—one concerning humankind’s relationship to God, one concerning humankind’s relationship to one another.<sup>6</sup>

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- 3 For an inventory of the Ten Commandments in the New Testament, see Craig A. Evans, “The Decalogue in the New Testament,” in *The Decalogue through the Centuries: From Hebrew Scriptures to Benedict XVI*, ed. Jeffrey P. Greenman and Timothy Larsen (Louisville, 2012), 29–46. For a comparison of the Hebrew texts as well as a consideration of variations in the tradition of the texts, see Innocent Himbaza, *Le Décalogue et l’histoire du texte: Etudes des formes textuelles du Décalogue et leurs implications dans l’histoire du texte de l’Ancien Testament* (Fribourg, 2004).
  - 4 On the Didache and the Ten Commandments, see Guy Bourgeault, S.J., *Décalogue et morale chrétienne: Enquête patristique sur l’utilisation et l’interprétation chrétiennes du décalogue de c. 60 à c. 220* (Paris, 1971), ch. 1. On the Decalogue in early Christianity, see in addition, Philippe Delhay, *Le Décalogue et sa place dans la morale chrétienne* (Liège, 1963), Ch. 111; Robert M. Grant, “The Decalogue in Early Christianity,” *Harvard Theological Review* XL (1947): 1–17. Jörg Mielke argued nearly thirty years later that they are not foundational to law in medieval Europe, *Der Dekalog in den Rechtstexten des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Aalen, 1992).
  - 5 *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, New Revised Standard Version, ed. Michael D. Coogan, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2001). The note at 22: 36: “Rabbi Hillel is said to have responded to this question in the Talmud, (*b. Shabb.* 31a), ‘What is hateful to you do not do to your neighbor; that is the whole Torah, the rest is commentary; go and learn it.’” See also Mark 12:28–31 and Luke 10:25–28.
  - 6 On Augustine and the Ten Commandments, see Wilhelm Geerlings, “The Decalogue in Augustine’s Theology,” in *The Decalogue in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman (New York, 2011), 106–17; Himbaza, *Le Décalogue et l’histoire du*

The .x. commaundementes of the lawe.  
 Thou shalt worship one god onely.  
 And loue hym with thy herte perfytely  
 God in vayne swere not wytfully  
 Ne by nothyng that he made verily  
 The sonday kepe and halowe holyly  
 Herynge gods seruyce on them deuoutly  
 Fader and moder honour thou lowly  
 And in theyr need helpe them gladly  
 Sle thou no man malyciously  
 nor to his dethe consent wytyngly  
 Thou ne shalte commit lechery  
 But with thy wife in wedlock onely  
 Thy neyghbours goodes stele not falsly.  
 Nor nothyng withholde untruely  
 Fals wytnesse bere thou not flyly  
 Nor fals recorde for none enuy  
 Other mennes wyues take not fleshely  
 Ne other women to knowe carnally  
 Other mennes goodes coueyt not lightly  
 Nor holde from them unrightfully  
 Andrew Chertsey, translator, *Jhesus. The floure of the commaunde-  
 mentes of god*<sup>7</sup>

In the thirteenth century, with the rise of penitential theology and the mendicant orders, the Commandments became bound up with the sacrament of penance and its process of examination, confession, satisfaction, and

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*texte*, 112–15. See also Lluch Baixauli, “The Decalogue in Western Theology from the Church Fathers to the Thirteenth Century,” in *The Decalogue and its Cultural Influence*, 75–84. Philippe Delhay traces an understanding of the Ten Commandments as love from Augustine through Peter Lombard and Aquinas, *Le Décalogue*, 70–86. Thomas Aquinas follows this division in his catechetical sermons on the Ten Commandments: “Now God, in delivering the law to Moses, gave him Ten Commandments written upon two tablets of stone. Three of these Commandments that were written on the first tablet referred to the love of God; and the seven Commandments written on the other tablet related to the love of our neighbour. The whole law, therefore, is founded on these two precepts,” *The Catechetical Instructions of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Joseph B. Collins (© The Catholic Primer, 2004), 54.

7 Andrew Chertsey, *Jhesus. // The floure of the commaundementes of god with many exam-  
 ples and auctorytees* . . . (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1510), 1.



absolution.<sup>8</sup> In sermons and handbooks, the Ten Commandments were taught as a template for judging human behavior and human thoughts, a guide for the self-examination the sacrament of penance encouraged. The Commandments were taught in easily memorable verse, such as that rendered in *Jesus, the Flower of the Commandments of God*, a handbook for lay men and women first printed in large format with woodcuts in French and then translated into English in the sixteenth century (Fig. 43).<sup>9</sup> They were also explicated, as in the remaining 400 pages of the *Flower*, in careful and meticulous detail. As Jean Gerson wrote in a penitential handbook that would ultimately circulate in the western hemisphere, the Ten Commandments manifested divine love: increasing virtue among Christians by explicating sin and offering the penitent the opportunity in the future not to sin, as well as to confess fully his transgressions.<sup>10</sup> It was important, therefore, to know all behavior and thought the divine words encompassed, that one could consciously seek not to transgress.

Gerson's Incipit was intended foremost for priests and curates, but a number of explications for lay hands survive from the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth. *Die zehe Gebot* by the Franciscan Marquard von Landau, organized as a dialogue between master and student, was published in German. We can glimpse something of its popularity in its survival: some 130 manuscripts, of seven different versions, as well as print editions, such as in Venice in 1483

8 "The earliest detailed description of the rite of penance and reconciliation is to be found in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, an eighth-century Frankish adaptation of earlier Roman material", Paul F. Palmer, S.J., ed., *Sacraments and Forgiveness: History and Doctrinal Development of Penance, Extreme Unction and Indulgences* (Westminster, MD, 1961 (1959)), 120. The Constitutions, "On the catholic faith," of the Fourth Lateran Council state, "Et si post suseptionem baptismi quisquam prolapsus fuerit in peccatum, per veram poenitentiam semper potest reparari", *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, S.J. (London, 1990), I: 231. The Second Council of Lyons in 1274 decreed penance one of the seven sacraments. On the Ten Commandments and penance, see Delhay, *Le Décalogue*, Ch. VI. See also, Abigail Firey, ed. *A New History of Penance* (Leiden, 2008); John Bossy, "Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments," in Edmund Leites, ed., *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), 214–34.

9 Johannes Geffcken studied a number of illustrated catechisms of the Ten Commandments, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther*, II. *Die zehn Gebote* (Leipzig, 1855), chs. 7–17.

10 Jean Gerson, Incipit opusculum tripartitum de preceptis decalogi De confessione et de arte moriendi pro eximium sacre theologiae professorem Magistrum Iohannem Gerson alme vniuersitatis parisiensis Cancellarium (n.p. n.d.), passim. For a facsimile of one of the editions circulating in the western hemisphere, see *Tripartito de Christianissimo y Consolatorio Doctor Juan Gerson de Doctrina Christiana . . . Publicado en México por Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga . . . 1544* (Mexico City, 1949).

and Strasbourg in 1516 and 1520.<sup>11</sup> That popularity resided not with the author, but with the topic: another of Marquard's catechetical works, a separate text on the Apostles' Creed, survives in markedly smaller numbers, suggesting just how central the Commandments had become to the sacrament of penance, which itself had become dramatically more important in Christian life in the late Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup> The Augustinian, Henry of Friemar, composed another, perhaps even more popular treatise explicating the Ten Commandments, "that we might be raised to highest perfection", which circulated in some 400 manuscripts and more than twenty printed editions.<sup>13</sup>

The penitential theology of Gerson, Marquard, and others framed the Ten Commandments in important ways. Perhaps most critically, penitential theology was rooted in the doctrines of human sinfulness, human free will, and divine love—as Gerson and Henry of Friemar taught, the Ten Commandments were not merely a list of prohibitions; they were a template for human perfection. Their purpose was not, as Gerson carefully argued, negative, but to offer that perfection towards which the devout should strive. The Ten Commandments comprised one of two crucial lists of "sins" (the other being the seven deadly sins) which the penitent might examine him- or herself with and the confessor had as his guide for the confession, but they also then articulated the scope for human action—all that was not prohibited was not sin. Thus, explication meant the detailing of hundreds of specific instantiations of behavior different authors taught was encompassed in the words of the Commandments, to ensure that the penitent considered all possible iterations of prohibited acts and thoughts. In late medieval penitential theology, one could choose not to sin, and if one did sin, one could choose to confess, do penance, and seek absolution—and the Ten Commandments were the guide, as Gerson and others

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11 Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction before the Council of Trent* (Leiden, 2004), 247–8; Marquard von Lindau, *Die zehe Gebot (Straßburg 1516 und 1520): Ein katechetischer Traktat*, ed. with notes, Jacobus Willem van Maren (Amsterdam, 1980); Marquard von Lindau, O.F.M., *Das Buch der zehn Gebote (Venedig 1483)*, ed., with Introduction and Glossary, Jacobus Willem van Maren (Amsterdam, 1984). According to Roest, *Die zehe Gebot's* "main source was the De Decem Preceptis by the Augustinian Hermit Heinrich von Friemar," *Franciscan Literature*, 248. On other Franciscan and Capuchin catechetical handbooks, see Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, Ch. 4.

12 "Nowadays [*De Fide*/*Der Glob*] can be found in seven manuscripts and two early editions," Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 249.

13 Henricus de Frimaria, *De decem preceptis*, ed. Bertrand-G. Guyot, O.P. (Pisa, 2005), 3 and xxv.

taught, God had given to help the devout do so. Works such as the *Flower* and *Dives et Pauper* offered their lay readers a plethora of exempla to observe in the pursuit of the perfected life.<sup>14</sup>

### Reformation

Leon: What is sin?

Hans: It is every movement or appetite against the will of God. It occurs in thoughts, words, and actions.

Leon: How do you recognize sin?

Hans: Through the commandment of the law.

Leon: How many commandments are there?

Hans: Ten.

Leon: Enumerate them for me.

Hans: I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the bondage-house of sin. You shall have no other Gods before me. You shall not make for yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth

14 H.G. Pfander compares the *Flower* to *Dives et pauper*: "This work is divided into two parts, the first being an objective treatment of the Commandments with much quotation from the Bible and Church Fathers, with numerous *exempla* scattered throughout, and with many cross-references to the second part of the work which is a compilation of over 500 *exempla* drawn for the greater part from the sermon series and *Promptuarium* of the Dominican John Herolt, of Nuremberg, who died in 1468. The treatise fills 125 folios (in the Wynken de Worde edition of 1510) and the *Exemplayre*, 134 folios. The Prologue of the *Exemplayre* says that the work was composed in Latin, translated into French, and then into English from the French (in 1509, according to the colophon of the edition of 1510). The first French edition I have found notice of is that of Verard, Paris, 1499. Ames, *Typ. Antiq.* ii states that Robert Copland in the Prologue of the *Passion of our Lord Jesu Cryst* says that Andrew Chertsey was the translator of *The Floure*. The English translation of 1521, printed by Wynken de Worde, bears the Chertsey arms and name on the last page, and a Pope, a Bishop, and a Friar appear in the woodcut of the titlepage. The picture of the friar may indicate either that John Herolt's writings were generously used in composing this book or that a friar wrote *The Floure*. However, we may safely say that *The Floure* was composed in the last half of the fifteenth century and not translated into English until the sixteenth. The treatise lacks the close contact with life shown in *Dives et Pauper* and uses about twenty-five times as many *exempla*, all borrowed from other writers." "Dives et Pauper," *The Library* (1933): 299. On *Dives et pauper*, see see Priscilla Heath Barnum, *Dives et Pauper*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1976 and 2004).



beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; you shall not bow down to them or serve them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me, and showing mercy to many thousands who love me and keep my commandments. You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain. Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days you shall labour, and do all your work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to the Lord your God; in it you shall not do any work, you, or your son, or your daughter, your man-servant, or your maid-servant, or your cattle, or the stranger who is within your gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested on the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it. Honour your father and your mother, that you may live long in the land which the Lord your God will give you. You shall not kill. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbour. You shall not covet your neighbour's house. You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or his man-servant, or his ox, or his ass, or anything that is your neighbour's.

Leon: Suppose, however, that you have fallen into sin. How do you become repentant?

Hans: Through penance and prayer to God.

Leon: What is penance?

Hans: To deplore your sins before God, to ask him for pardon, and to never do it again. This last is the highest penance, namely from then on to be wary of sin and not to stray from the word of God.

Balthasar Hubmaier, *A Christian Catechism Which Every Person Should Know before He is Baptised in Water*<sup>15</sup>

In some ways, Hubmaier's catechism was very much like other Evangelical catechisms. Like them, it taught the Ten Commandments as the source for defining sin. Like them, it located the authority for defining sin in Scripture and eschewed any discussion of the medieval seven deadly sins. Like many, but not

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<sup>15</sup> Balthasar Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism Which Every Person Should Know before He is Baptised in Water," trans. Denis Janz, in *Three Reformation Catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran*, ed. Denis Janz (New York, 1982), 142–4.

all Evangelical catechisms, it bound the Commandments to a definition of penance that was not sacramental, but a kind of personal praxis of examination.

In one way, however, Hubmaier's catechism was strikingly unusual.<sup>16</sup> The catechism provided the full text of Exodus,<sup>17</sup> there on the page, unbroken by any of the textual divisions, punctuation, or numbering that had come to shape the teaching of the Ten Commandments.<sup>18</sup> The great majority of Evangelical catechisms taught the Commandments as a numbered list. That textual formatting is all the more striking, given that those same catechisms were silent on the sacrament of penance that had engendered lists of the Ten Commandments in prose and verse. Hubmaier put before the eyes of his readers the originating text's fluidities: is honoring God one command? Three? Four?

The Ten Commandments had their origin in the ancient Mosaic texts, but they came into the Reformation most often as a list, numbered one to ten,

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16 The catechism of the Bohemian Brethren also presents the unbroken Exodus text, Gerhard von Zezschwitz, ed. *Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmisches Brüder* (Amsterdam, 1967 [Erlangen, 1863]), 43–4.

17 And God spoke all these words, saying: "I am the Lord your God Who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slaves. You shall have no other gods beside Me. You shall make you no carved likeness and no image of what is in the heavens above or what is on the earth below or what is in the waters beneath the earth. You shall not bow to them and you shall not worship them, for I am the Lord your God, a jealous god, reckoning the crime of fathers with sons, with the third generation and with the fourth, for My foes, and doing kindness to the thousandth generation for My friends and for those who keep My commands. You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain, for the Lord will not acquit whosoever takes His name in vain. Remember the sabbath day to hallow it. Six days shall you work and you shall do your tasks, but the seventh day is a sabbath to the Lord your God. You shall do no task, you and your son and your daughter, your male slave and your slavegirl and your beast and your sojourner who is within your gates. For six days did the Lord make the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that is in it, and He rested on the seventh day. Therefore did the Lord bless the sabbath day and hallow it. Honor your father and your mother, so that your days may be long on the soil that the Lord your God has given you. You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your fellow man. You shall not covet your fellow man's wife, or his male slave, or his slavegirl, or his ox, or his donkey, or anything that your fellow man has." Exodus 20:1–17, *The Five Books of Moses*, trans. with Commentary, Robert Alter (New York, 2004). See also Alter's footnote 1 on the numbering of the Commandments. Cf. Deuteronomy 5:6–19, as well as Alter's notes on textual differences between the two.

18 The Zürcher Katechismus-Tafel, for instance, preserves the entire text of Exodus, but breaks it into ten segments, each numbered with a Roman numeral, Ferdinand Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1900), 126–7.

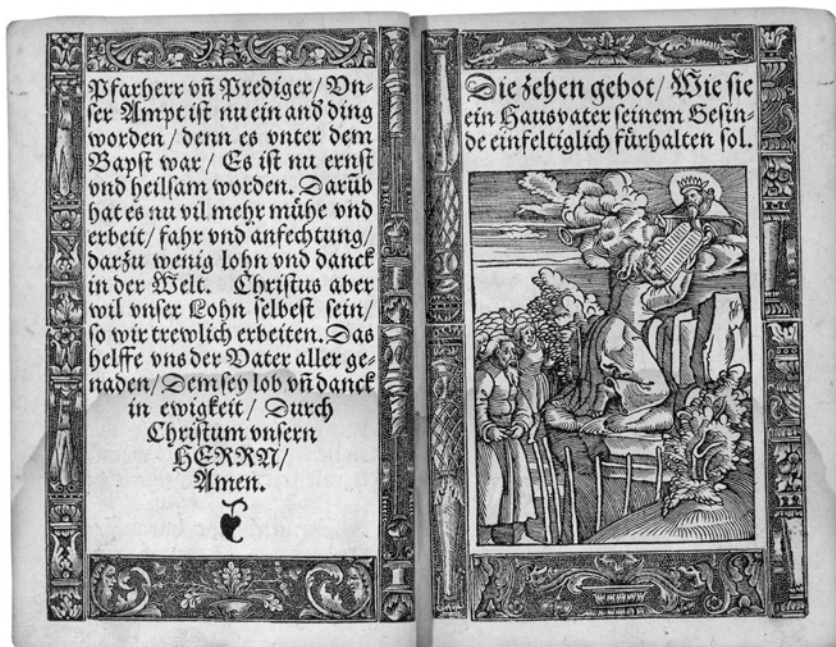


FIGURE 44 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

separated spatially, and taught as discrete commands (Fig. 44).<sup>19</sup> Those lists, as we shall see, were not identical, but Reformation catechisms did not address the originating text's punctuation or fluidities. They taught the Commandments as ancient, given by God, and thus divinely revealed and ordained—in the format that the catechisms taught.

With the exception of the anonymous author of the Strasbourg *Isagoge*, who eliminated the Ten Commandments from his catechesis, Evangelicals were agreed that the Ten Commandments belonged to those texts every Christian should know. Martin Luther accorded them preeminence in his catechism—they were the first text a Christian was to learn. Early in his career, from 29 June 1516 to 24 February 1517, he preached on them.<sup>20</sup> Neither Latin nor German notes survive, nor the complete Latin manuscript, still extant in the eighteenth

19 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p.

20 For an introduction to Luther's understanding of the Ten Commandments, see Albrecht Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Ten Commandments*, trans. Holgar K. Sonntag (Saint Louis, 2009), 55–87, which includes a bibliography of both Luther's works either

century, but Sebastian Münster held the sermons to be so valuable that he translated and published them.<sup>21</sup> In Münster's rendition, Luther did not begin with the Old Testament or Hebrew Bible text, but with "Das erst gebott. Du solt nit frembde goetter anbetten" [The first command. You should not pray to foreign gods].<sup>22</sup> He began with a sentence he might have learned in childhood.

As early as 1516, Luther's framing of the Ten Commandments broke with Gerson and the late medieval framing of them:

That God the Lord says, You ought not to have foreign gods, and does not say, You should have one god, or should pray to me alone as one god, is to mark that God's commandments are given more to designate the sin of the past and present, than to forbid future sin. For as Saint Paul says, Through the law man has nothing other than the recognition of sin.<sup>23</sup>

For Luther, the divine purpose of the Ten Commandments was to define sin that humankind might recognize it. In this he echoed Gerson and other late medieval penitential theologians. But for Luther, the recognition of sin was not in order "to forbid future sin"—the first step on a path to human perfection:

[The Creed] is given in order to help us do what the Ten Commandments require of us. For as we said above, they are set so high that all human ability is far too puny and weak to keep them. Therefore it is just as necessary to learn this part as it is the other so that we may know where and how to obtain the power to do this. If we were able by our own strength to keep the Ten Commandments as they ought to be kept, we would need nothing else, neither the Creed nor the Lord's Prayer.

*The German Catechism*<sup>24</sup>

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directly on the Ten Commandments (Peters lists twelve), or those Peters drew upon for his understanding of Luther on the Ten Commandments.

21 *Martin Luthers Dekalogpredigten in der Übersetzung von Sebastian Münster*, ed. Michael Basse (Vienna, 2011), IX.

22 *Martin Luthers Dekalogpredigten*, 13.

23 *Martin Luthers Dekalogpredigten*, 13.

24 Martin Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 431.

Of the two catechisms, *The German Catechism* taught most explicitly that the Ten Commandments were to be the praxis of Christian life:

It is useful and necessary, I say, to teach, admonish, and remind young people of all this so that they may be brought up, not only with blows and compulsion, like cattle, but in the fear and reverence of God. These are not human trifles but the commandments of the most high Majesty, who watches over them with great earnestness, who is angry and punishes those who despise them, and, on the contrary, abundantly rewards those who keep them. Where people consider this and take it to heart, there will arise a spontaneous impulse and desire gladly to do God's will. Therefore it is not without reason that the Old Testament command was to write the Ten Commandments on every wall and corner, and even on garments. Not that we are to have them there only for display, as the Jews did, but we are to keep them incessantly before our eyes and constantly in our memory and to practice them in all our works and ways. Each of us is to make them a matter of daily practice in all circumstances, in all activities and dealings, as if they were written everywhere we look, even wherever we go or wherever we stand.<sup>25</sup>

At the end of the catechesis of the Commandments in the *Enchiridion*, the catechumen learned:

What then does God say about all these commandments? Answer:

God says the following: "I, the LORD your God, am a jealous God. Against those who hate me I visit the sin of the fathers on the children up to the third and fourth generation. But I do good to those who love me and keep my commandments to the thousandth generation."

What is this? Answer:

God threatens to punish all who break these commandments. Therefore we are to fear his wrath and not disobey these commandments. However, God promises grace and every good thing to all those who keep these commandments. Therefore we also are to love and trust him and gladly act according to his commands.<sup>26</sup>

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25 Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," *The Book of Concord*, 430–1.

26 Martin Luther, "The Small Catechism," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 354.

Luther in the *German Catechism* and those catechisms derived from it<sup>27</sup> accorded the Ten Commandments more attention, more detail than any other text. As these catechisms taught, the Ten Commandments articulated how Christianity was to be lived in the day-to-day—from humankind’s relationship to God through familial and social relations to economic practices. As they taught, the Ten Commandments constituted a praxis: that which one did every day in order to live best as a Christian.

In his understanding of the sacramentality of confession, Luther is at one end of an Evangelical spectrum; at the other is the *Isagoge*, which excluded the Ten Commandments for their role in the sacrament of penance. Drawing upon the principle of scriptural authority, most Evangelical catechisms did not teach—were silent on—penance as well as four other of the sacraments the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence had decreed in 1439: confirmation, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage.<sup>28</sup> These sacraments disappeared in Evangelical catechesis. But Evangelical catechisms did not reject the Ten Commandments—even a later catechism printed in Strasbourg taught the Decalogue.<sup>29</sup> Quite the contrary, Evangelical catechisms normally included the Ten Commandments in that knowledge, they taught, defined a Christian. The great majority taught, like Luther, that the Ten Commandments belonged to divine revelation, and most, like Luther, preserved the ancient sense that they constituted “Law” or “God’s Law.”<sup>30</sup> But they taught different understandings of the relationship of that law to the Christian life, depending foremost upon their conceptions of humanity and the working of the Holy Spirit.<sup>31</sup>

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27 See, for example, Johannes Spangenberg, *Ten Commandments // reiner Christlicher lere / // frage weise gestellet* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1540), and *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere / // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasst* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541).

28 “Novel egis septem sunt sacramenta, videlicet baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistia, penitentia, extrema unctio, ordo et matrimonium”, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1, 541.

29 CATHE//CHISMVS EC=//CLESIAE ET SCHO=//læ *Argentoratensis*. Strasbourg: Vuendelini Rihelij, 1544.

30 The catechism of the Bohemian Brethren taught that the Ten Commandments were “die bewerbung dz einer geglaubt in got”, *Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmisches Brüder*, 43.

31 See the chapter on the Apostles’ Creed.



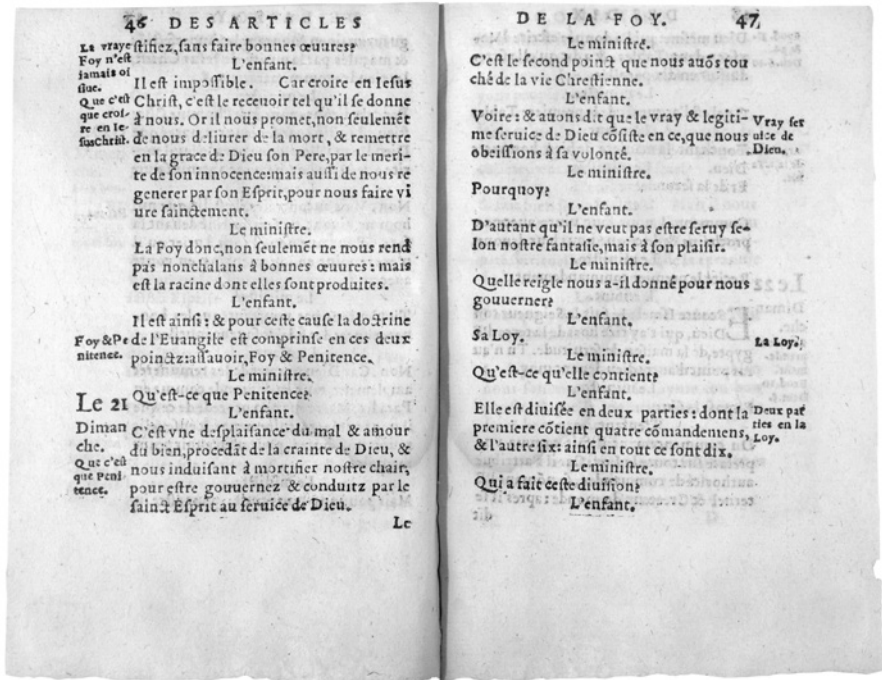


FIGURE 45 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 46–47. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

In the Genevan Catechism (Fig. 45),<sup>32</sup> at the end of the section on the Apostles' Creed, the catechumen turned to the Ten Commandments in terms not of penance, but of a concept not unlike one articulated in Hubmaier's catechism—"repentance"—which the Genevan Catechism paired with "faith":

The Minister.

Faith, then, not only does not make us indifferent to good works, it is the fountain where they are produced.

32 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549).

The Child.

It is indeed, and for this reason the doctrine of the Gospel consists in these two points, to know faith and repentance.

The Minister.

What is repentance?

The Child.

It is a displeasure with evil and love of good proceeding from the fear of God, inducing us to mortify our flesh in order to be governed and led by the Holy Spirit to service to God.

The Minister.

This is the second point that we have touched upon of the Christian life.

The Child.

Indeed, and we have said that the true and legitimate service of God consists in our obeying his will.

The Minister.

Why?

The Child.

Because he does not wish to be served according to our fantasie, but according to his pleasure.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>33</sup>

The Genevan Catechism taught the Ten Commandments as God's express statement of how he wished to be served, the guidelines for those good works which originate in faith.<sup>34</sup> They were, as the catechumen learned first in the section on "the Law", "the rules which [God] has given us to govern us".<sup>35</sup>

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33 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, 2nd ed. (Geneva, 2005), 54–5.

34 "From the beginning of his ministry, Calvin laid emphasis on the Ten Commandments as a guide to Christian behavior", Ronald S. Wallace, *Calvin, Geneva, and the Reformation: A Study in Calvin as Social Reformer, Churchman, Pastor and Theologian* (Edinburgh, 1988), 186.

35 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 56. Cf. John Hesselink, "Christ, the Law, and the Christian: An Unexpected Aspect of the Third Use of the Law in Calvin's Theology," in *Reformatio Perennis: Essays on Calvin and the Reformation in Honor of Ford Lewis Battles*, ed. B.A. Gerrish (Pittsburgh, 1981), 11–26.

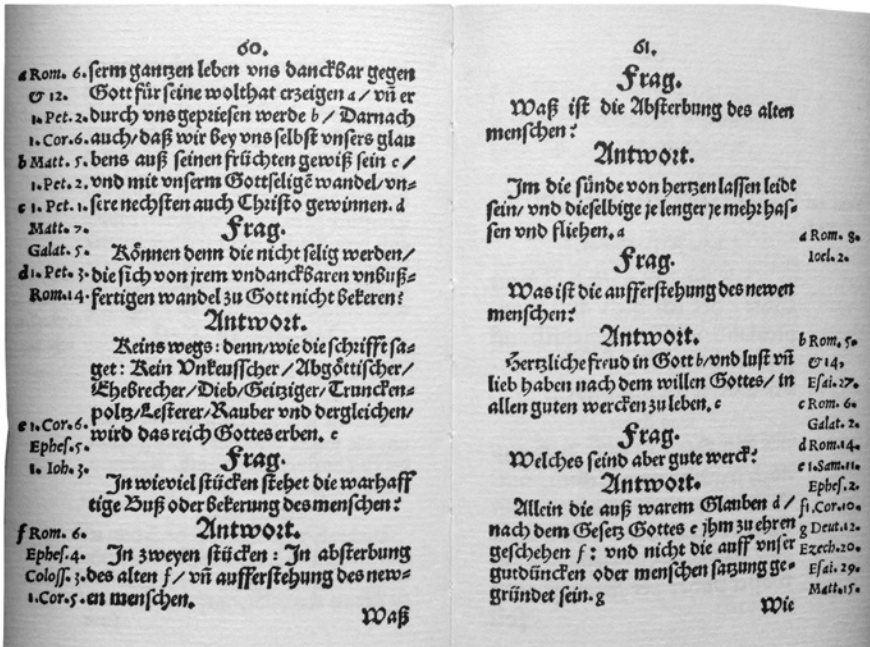


FIGURE 46 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Underricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 60–61.

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg taught that the Ten Commandments were the source for defining what a “good work” was and specified those acts and behaviors which were “good works” (Fig. 46).<sup>36</sup>

Question 88. How many parts are there to true repentance or conversion of man?

Two: the dying of the old self and the birth of the new.

Question 89. What is the dying of the old self?

Sincere sorrow over our sins and more and more to hate them and flee from them.

Question 90. What is the birth of the new self?

Complete joy in god through Christ and a strong desire to live according to the will of God in all good works.

Question 91. But what are good works?

36 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Underricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563).

Only those which are done out of true faith, in accordance with the Law of God, and for his glory, and not those based on our own opinion or on the traditions of men.

*The Heidelberg Catechism*<sup>37</sup>

For both the Genevan and the Heidelberg Catechisms, the Ten Commandments articulated God's "Law", within which the obedient Christian sought to live and by which the faithful Christian's conduct was governed. So, too, for both, the Ten Commandments articulated "sin", and in so doing, provided the touch point for repentance, for both, the essence of the Christian life.

After learning all ten of the Commandments in the Heidelberg Catechism, the catechumen learned their purpose:

Question 114. But can those who are converted to God keep these commandments perfectly?

No, for even the holiest of them make only a small beginning in obedience in this life. Nevertheless, they begin with serious purpose to conform not only to some, but to all the commandments of God.

Question 115. Why, then, does God have the Ten Commandments preached so strictly since no one can keep them in this life?

First, that all our life long we may become increasingly aware of our sinfulness, and therefore more eagerly seek forgiveness of sins and righteousness in Christ. Second, that we may constantly and diligently pray to God for the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that more and more we may be renewed in the image of God, until we attain the goal of full perfection after this life.<sup>38</sup>

### The Ten Commandments in the Codex

The differing conceptualizations of the relationship of the Ten Commandments to Christian life were reflected in the different catechisms' ordering of the texts. In Peter Canisius's catechisms, catechumens came to the Ten Commandments after learning the Apostles' Creed, "Faith", and the Lord's Prayer, "Hope". His catechisms taught the Commandments under the rubric of "Caritas", love, echoing Augustine's and Aquinas's teaching: Jesus's two commands are the

37 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, ed. Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, 1991), 155.

38 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 161.

organizing principle, the frame, through which the catechumen approaches the Ten Commandments. The Commandments were not the foundation of Christian life in Canisius's catechisms: they were added "so that all can understand more fully what pertains to love of God, [what] to love of neighbor".<sup>39</sup>

Luther's catechisms and those derived from them began with the Ten Commandments (Fig. 19); that order defined them over against other Evangelical catechisms and Catholic catechisms. Lutheran children, following Luther's sense of the Commandments, were to learn the Commandments before the Creed or the Lord's Prayer: only in facing the impossibility of pleasing God alone could Christians see fully the import of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

The Genevan Catechism began with "Faith", the Creed. The second part took up "the Law", which it treated in 101 questions, from the twenty-first Sunday through the thirty-third. It did not offer the text of the Ten Commandments as a whole, but turned almost immediately, on the twenty-second Sunday, to the First Commandment. Two Sundays were devoted to the Second Commandment; one, to the Third; two to the Fourth; and one to the Fifth. The Sixth and Seventh Commandments were taught in a single Sunday, as were the Eighth and Ninth. The Tenth Commandment was taught on the same Sunday as the Genevan Catechism moved to "the summary of all of the Law", which continued on the following Sunday, and on the last Sunday, the thirty-third, the catechumen learned a more general consideration of the Law. The Law, in turn, led to prayer.

The Heidelberg Catechism first mentioned the "Law of God" in the first section, "On Human Misery" (Fig. 47). The catechumen was first to learn human guilt:

Question 3. Where do you learn of your sin and its wretched consequences?

From the Law of God.

Question 4. What does the Law of God require of us?

Jesus Christ teaches this in a summary in Matthew 22:37–40:

"You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and with all your mind. This is the great and first commandment. And a second is like it, you shall love your neighbor as yourself. On these two commandments depend all the Law and the prophets."

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39 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 29.

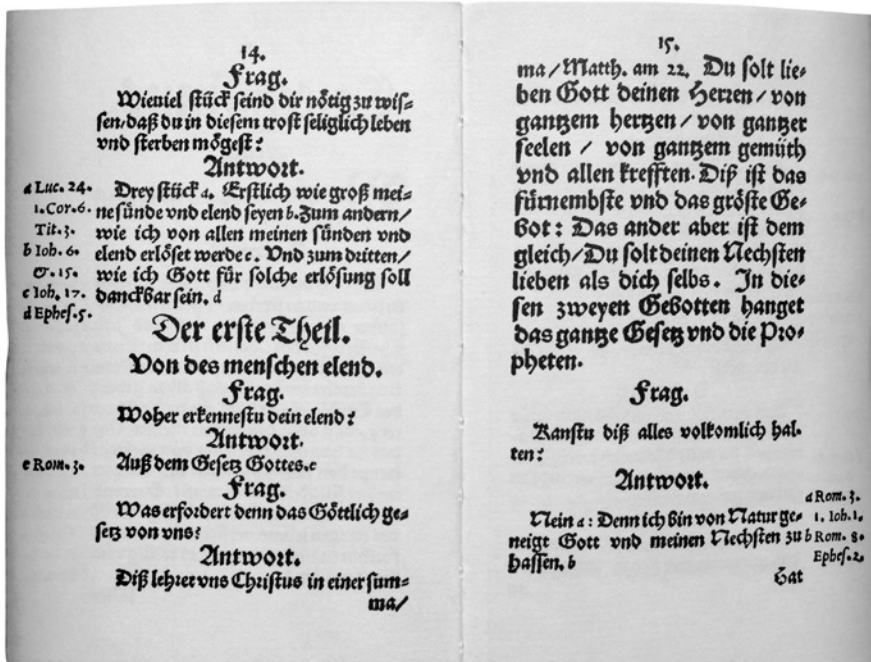


FIGURE 47 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu-//  
len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563),  
14–15.

Question 5. Can you keep all this perfectly?

No, for by nature I am prone to hate God and my neighbor.<sup>40</sup>

While the Genevan Catechism turned to Matthean text at the end of catechesis on the Ten Commandments, the Heidelberg Catechism opened the entire process of catechesis with it. In the Heidelberg Catechism, Jesus's commands to love, God and one's neighbor, were the entry into catechesis—in this the Heidelberg Catechism remains unique. In the Heidelberg Catechism, the catechumen was also to learn of redemption, the second part, before becoming able to discern the gift that the Catechism taught the Ten Commandments to be. The catechumen then came to catechesis of the Ten Commandments only in the third part, titled “Of Gratitude” (Fig. 48)—near the end of the entire process.

40 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 137–8.



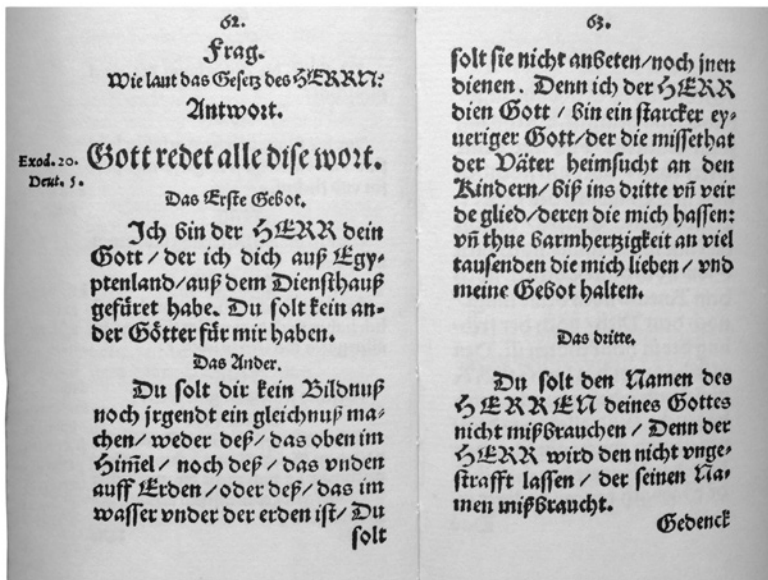


FIGURE 48 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 62–63.

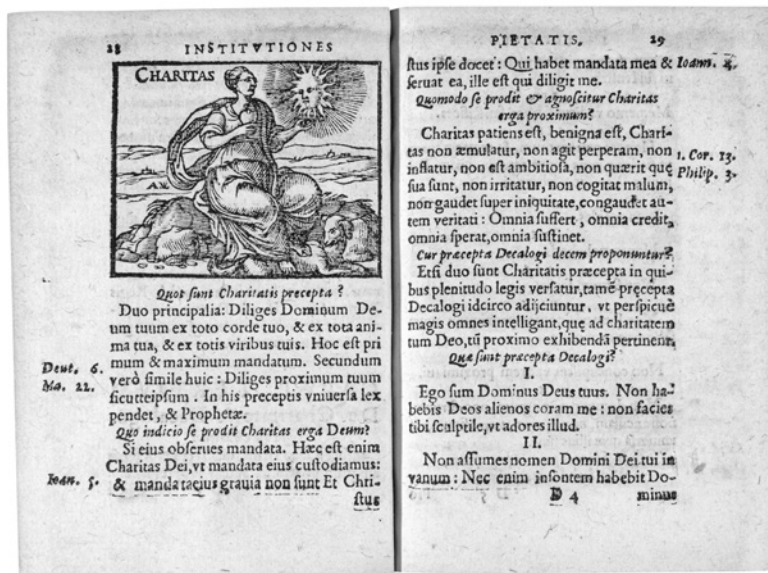


FIGURE 49 *Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 28–29. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## Two Commandments and Ten

In separating Jesus's two commands from the Ten Commandments, the Heidelberg Catechism offered one solution to an ancient problem: what was to be the relationship between the Matthean text and the Mosaic? As early as Augustine, that question itself belonged to the larger one: what is to be the relationship of the Old Testament to the New?<sup>41</sup> That question lies beyond this study, and yet, the authors' differing answers shaped the teaching of the Ten Commandments in their catechisms. Canisius's catechisms subsumed the Ten Commandments beneath Christ's two (Fig. 49).<sup>42</sup> They did not divide the Commandments into two tables, but taught that the Commandments were the clarification of Christ's two:

What are the precepts of love [Charitatis]?

Two principles: Love the Lord your God from your whole heart, and from your whole soul, and from all your might. This is the first and maximum command. The second is like unto it: Love your neighbor as yourself. On these precepts hangs all law and the Prophets.

How is this Love towards God indicated?

If his commands are observed. For this is Love of God, that we keep his commands, and his commands are not heavy. And Christ teaches just this: Whoever holds my commands and keeps them is he who loves me.

... Why are the ten precepts of the Decalogue set forth?

Although two are the precepts of Love in which the fullness of the law resides, the precepts of the Decalogue are added to them, so that all can understand more fully what pertains to love of God, to love of neighbor.<sup>43</sup>

The catechumen of Canisius's catechisms approached the Ten Commandments both in terms of love and through a catechesis that placed John 5 and 1 Cor. 13 directly before them. One loved Christ in observing the Ten Commandments, the catechumen learned—that was the Commandments' primary purpose. So, too, the catechumen learned, the Commandments were not a burden—they were not a measure of sin but a sign of love.

<sup>41</sup> Geerlings, "The Decalogue in Augustine's Theology," 112.

<sup>42</sup> Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575).

<sup>43</sup> Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 28–9.

In his catechisms, Luther treated the Ten Commandments as discrete from Christ's two; the woodcuts accompanying the catechesis frequently reinforced that the Ten Commandments belonged both to the Old Testament and to divine revelation (Fig. 44). His catechisms did not teach two tables, did not divide the ten into two groups. Luther's catechisms moved from Law to Gospel, and in so doing, from Moses to Christ. Christ redeemed; the Law enabled Christians to discern their sin.

At the beginning of its catechesis of the Ten Commandments (Fig. 45), the Genevan Catechism taught:

Minister.

What rule has [God] given us to govern us?

Child.

His law.

Minister.

What is it that it contains?

Child.

It is divided into two parts, the first of which contains four commandments, and the other, six; thus in all they are ten.

Minister.

Who has made this division?

Child.

God himself, who gave it written to Moses in two tables, and said that it was reduced into ten spoken words [paroles] (Ex 32.15; 34.29; Dt. 4.13; 10.1).

Minister.

What is the argument of the first Table?

Child.

Touching the manner of honoring God well.

Minister.

And of the second?

Child.

How we are to live with our neighbors, and what we owe them.<sup>44</sup>

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44 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 56.

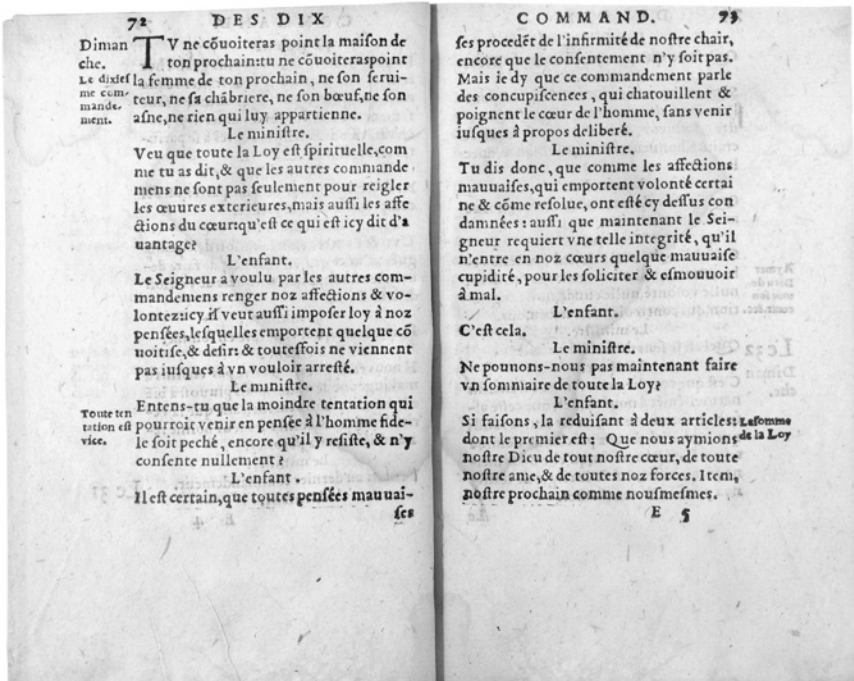


FIGURE 50 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruction des enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // *Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 72–73. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

That division, however, was a thing apart from what the Catechism then taught was “the summary of all the Law” (Fig. 50):

Child.

We can reduce it to two articles, the first of which is: “That you shall love our God with all our heart, all our soul and all our might.” And again [Item]: “our neighbor as ourselves.”<sup>45</sup>

Christ’s words did not provide the principle for approaching the Ten Commandments; they were its “summary”.

45 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 71.

The Heidelberg Catechism, as we have seen, separated Christ's two commands from the Ten Commandments by the entire process of catechesis (Figs. 46–48). After reciting the Ten Commandments, the catechumen then learned how they were to be divided into two tables whose organizing principles echoed the Genevan Catechism:

Question 93. How are these commandments divided?

Into two tables, the first of which teaches us in four commandments how we ought to live in relation to God; the other, in six commandments, what we owe to our neighbor.<sup>46</sup>

In both the Genevan and the Heidelberg Catechisms, Christ's two commands are kept apart and yet inform the division of the Commandments into “two tables”, between a Christian's relation to God and a Christian's relation to neighbor.

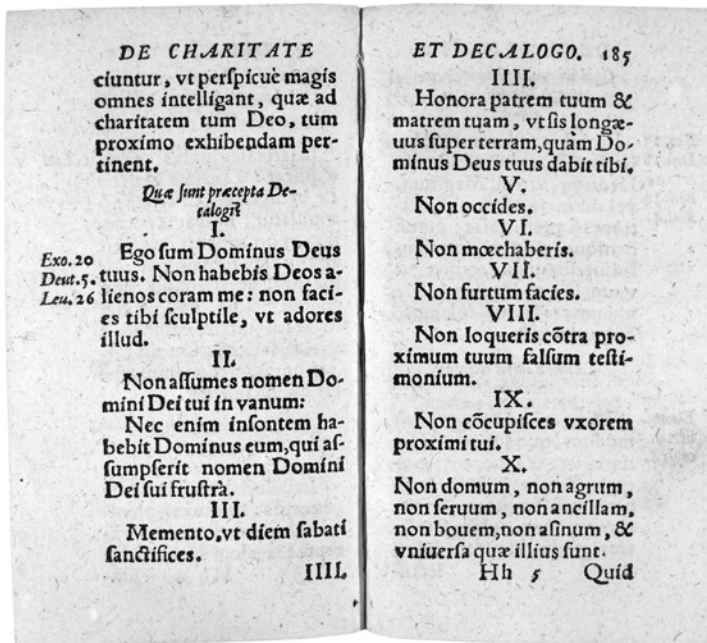


FIGURE 51 *Peter Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM, in Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte instituendae... // ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=// tholicorum, autore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564), 184<sup>v</sup>–185. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

46 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 157.

## Numbering the Ten Commandments

With a couple of exceptions, Reformation catechisms did not provide the full text from Exodus 20 or Deuteronomy 5, but taught discrete Commandments. They did not divide the Mosaic text in the same way, nor did any preserve all of the Mosaic text, whether Exodus or Deuteronomy, even divided, but taught specific sentences summarizing or derived from the text. Peter Canisius's catechisms first presented the Matthean text, then (Fig. 51):<sup>47</sup>

### I.

I am the Lord your God. You shall not have strange gods before me; you shall not make sculptures [facies sculptili] for yourself, in order to worship [adores] them.

### II.

You shall not take in vain the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not hold guiltless he who takes the name of the Lord in frustration.

### III.

Remember to sanctify the Sabbath.

### IV.

Honor your father and mother, you may be long upon the earth, which the Lord God will give you.

### V.

You shall not kill.

### VI.

You shall not commit adultery.

### VII.

You shall not steal.

### VIII.

You shall not speak false testimony against your neighbor.

### IX.

You shall not covet your neighbor's wife.

### X.

Nor house, nor field, nor servant, nor maid, nor cow, nor ass, and all that is his.<sup>48</sup>

47 Petrus Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM, in Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte instituendae ...// ACCESSIT IN HAC //editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum, autore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564).

48 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 29–30. While the wording of the Ten



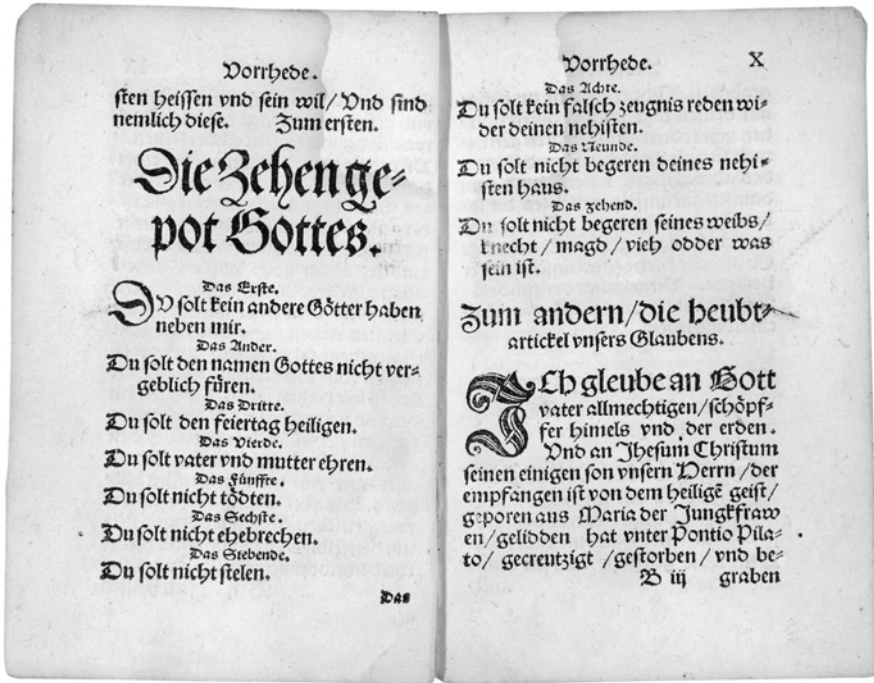


FIGURE 52 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), ix<sup>v</sup>–x. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Luther's catechisms taught these Ten Commandments:

The First

You are to have no other gods [next to me in the *German Catechism* (Fig. 52)].<sup>49</sup>

The Second

You are not to take the name of your God in vain.

The Third

You are to hallow the day of rest.

The Fourth

You are to honor your father and your mother.

Commandments has become, in the wake of the Reformation and, arguably, because of it, constant, sixteenth-century catechisms taught different wordings, which I have sought to preserve in my translations.

49 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531).

## The Fifth

You are not to kill.

## The Sixth

You are not to commit adultery.

## The Seventh

You are not to steal.

## The Eighth

You are not to bear false witness against your neighbor.

## The Ninth

You are not to covet your neighbor's house.

## The Tenth

You are not to covet your neighbor's wife, male or female servant, cattle or whatever is his.

The Genevan Catechism adhered more closely to the Mosaic text and taught a greater portion of it (Figs. 53–54). The child offered the text of each of the Ten Commandments in answer to the Minister's prompt:

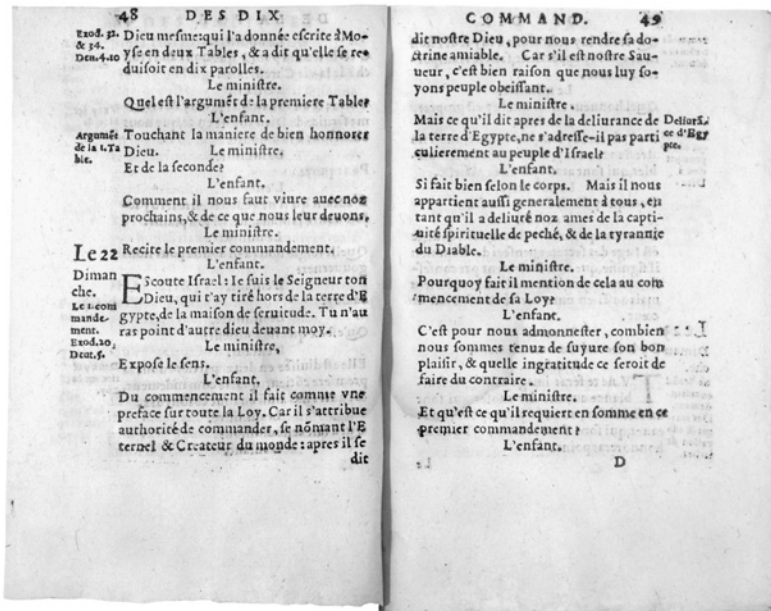


FIGURE 53 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME de Geneue*: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Calvin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 48–49. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

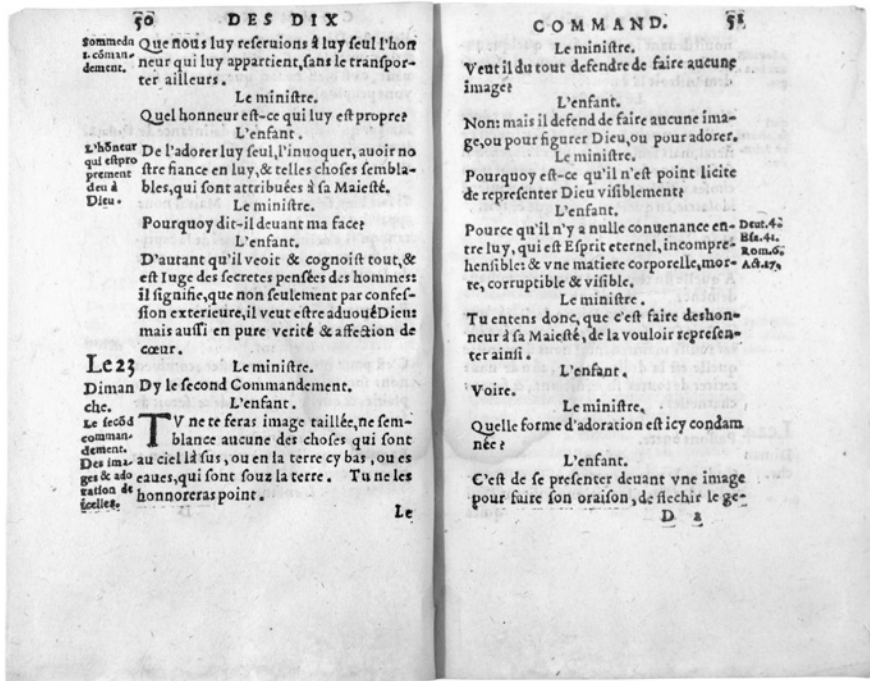


FIGURE 54 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 50–51. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

[First] Hear, Israel, I am the Lord your God, who has pulled you out of the land of Egypt, from the house of servitude. You shall not have another God before me.

[Second] You shall not sculpt an image, nor a likeness of any of those things which are in the heaven above, or in the earth below it, or in the waters which are beneath the earth. You shall not honor them. (Fig. 60)

[Third] You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain.

[Fourth] Remember to sanctify the day of repose. Six days you shall work and do all your works; the seventh, it is the [day of] rest of the Lord your God. On this [day], you shall not make any work whatsoever, neither yours, nor your servant, nor your maid, nor your cow, nor your ass, nor the stranger who is inside your door. For in six days God had made the heaven and the earth and all that they comprise; the seventh he rested; in so doing he blessed the day of rest and sanctified it. (Fig. 61)

[Fifth] Honor your father and mother.

- [Sixth] You shall not kill.  
 [Seventh] You shall not live in debauchery [paillarderas].  
 [Eighth] You shall not steal.  
 [Ninth] You shall not speak false testimony against your neighbor.  
 [Tenth] You shall not covet the house of your neighbor, you shall not covet the wife of your neighbor, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his cow, nor his ass, nor anything that belongs to him.<sup>50</sup>

In answer to the question, “What is the Law of God”, the catechumen of the Heidelberg Catechism recited all Ten Commandments. Unlike Luther’s *Enchiridion* or the Genevan Catechism, the catechumen first learned all Commandments, then turned to the meaning of each. In the original German and Latin editions, the words rendered here in quotation marks were printed in larger font (see Fig. 48):

God spoke all these words saying:

First Commandment

“I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. You shall have no other gods before me.”

Second Commandment

“You shall not make yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; you shall not bow down to them or serve them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me, but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments.”

Third Commandment

“You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain.”

Fourth Commandment

“Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days you shall labor, and do all your work; but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God; in it you shall not do any work,

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50 The Catechism of the Church of Geneva teaches the meaning of each Commandment as the child recites it; this, therefore, is excerpted from “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 57–70.

you, or your son, or your daughter, your manservant, or your maidservant, or your cattle, or the sojourner who is within your gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day; therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it.”

Fifth Commandment

“Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you.”

Sixth Commandment

“You shall not kill.”

Seventh Commandment

“You shall not commit adultery.”

Eighth Commandment

“You shall not steal.”

Ninth Commandment

“You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.”

Tenth Commandment

“You shall not covet your neighbor’s house; you shall not covet your neighbor’s wife, or his manservant, or his maidservant, or his ox, or his ass, or anything that is your neighbor’s.”<sup>51</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg taught much of the Mosaic text, dividing it into Commandments, but preserving more of its language.

### Teaching the Commandments

As with the Apostles’ Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, catechesis of the Ten Commandments also differed from one author to the next. While Canisius’s *Little Catechism* treated all ten in roughly seven duodecimo pages, asking three questions at most for any one (the First Commandment), *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva* asked seven questions of the First Commandment and sixteen of the Second (Figs. 53–54). While Canisius’s catechisms and the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms asked different numbers of questions for the Commandments—as many as sixteen for one Commandment—Luther’s *Enchiridion* asked but one question for each of the Ten Commandments. On every level, from placement within the codex to the content of individual

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51 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 155–7.

Commandments, sixteenth-century catechisms taught distinctive Ten Commandments, and not along a simple Catholic/Evangelical bipolarity.

The following, therefore, cannot be organized according to numbering—which would not work—nor even according to individual Commandments, though some Commandments remained relatively constant across catechisms. Analysis also cannot cleave closely to catechesis of individual Commandments: it will be necessary to summarize what in the catechisms are much lengthier catecheses.

Whether in the first three Commandments, as with Canisius's and Luther's catechisms, or the first four, as with the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms, catechisms taught an orientation to God as the foundation of the Christian life. That orientation encompassed worship, diversely understood, and speech. That orientation then grounded the remaining seven or six Commandments, which took up a Christian's relationship with other human beings—parents, civil and ecclesiastical authorities, spouse, neighbors. Each catechism can be said to have taught the Ten Commandments as setting two fundamental relationships: between God and the Christian; and between human beings. Catechisms also taught less explicitly that the Ten Commandments set a third relationship—to things—as they mediated the relationship between God and humankind and multiple relationships among human beings. Analysis is organized according to these three kinds of relationships as they were taught by the Ten Commandments: to God, among human beings, and with things. Because of the differing divisions of the first three or four Commandments, analysis of the catechisms' teaching of the Christian's relation to God is organized by catechism. Under the category of human relations, however, it is possible to separate a number of the Commandments and organize analysis according to them. Catechisms took up things in the context of worship, in the context of theft, and, in the case of Canisius's and Luther's catechisms, in the context of coveting; analysis, therefore, follows those distinctions.

## God

What does the first precept mean,

You shall have no strange Gods?

It prohibits as well as damns idolatry along with the cult of false Gods, magic arts or divinations, superstitious observations, and all impious cults. On the other hand, it also require that we believe in, worship, and invoke one God, Supreme.

Is it not permitted, to have a cult for [colere] and invoke the saints?



It is, but not in the manner in which we are commanded to worship and call upon God, creator and redeemer, and bestower of good works, but in a much lower grade, as beloved friends of God, and as such, our intercessors and patrons.

Is not the use of images of Christ and the saints against this precept?

No, because this is the precept: Do not sculpt for yourself anything for the purpose of speaking to it, in order to worship it, as was Ethiopian custom, who set up simulachra of their false Gods and worshiped the idols of their impiety. We however, venerate [veneramur] in images Christ and the saints, whom they represent according to pious custom.

Peter Canisius, *Little Catechism* <sup>52</sup>

Canisius's catechisms taught not simply a vertical relation between humankind and God, but a hierarchy of multiple levels: God, supreme, "Optimum Maximum", Creator, Redeemer, source of good works; saints, who are closer to God than other human beings; and the rest of humankind. "Idolatry" consisted in making images of false gods and in speaking to them as if they were God—it resided not in the act of image-making, but in both "false gods" and false worship.

His catechisms taught as the Second Commandment the prohibition not simply of blasphemy, but of perjury, false as well as irreverent swearing—God's name was not to be taken lightly; it was also truth.<sup>53</sup> The Third Commandment encompassed observing the Sabbath, "as well as the feast days in which pious works are celebrated in the Church, going to the temple and listening [audiendo] to the Mass". To work in this time, to pursue any other occupation, was forbidden.<sup>54</sup> In Canisius's catechisms, the first three Commandments concerned the worship of God: in God's relationship to Creation; in speech; and in time. Christians worshiped God alone, might invoke saints as intercessors, venerated images as representing Christ and the saints; they were conscious in their speaking of God as both highest and truth itself; and they accorded one day, free from labor, to go to church and listen to the Mass.

52 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 30–31.

53 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 31–2.

54 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 32.

## The First

You are to have no other gods.

What is this? Answer:

We are to fear, love, and trust God above all things.

## The Second

You are not to take the name of your God in vain.

What is this? Answer:

We are to fear and love God, so that we do not curse, swear, practice magic, lie or deceive using God's name, but instead use that very name in every time of need to call on, pray to, praise, and give thanks to God.

## The Third

You are to hallow the day of rest.

What is this? Answer:

We are to fear and love God, so that we do not despise the preaching of God's Word, but instead keep that Word holy and gladly hear and learn it.

Martin Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>55</sup>



FIGURE 55 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

55 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 351–2.

Like Canisius's catechisms, Luther's accorded three Commandments to the worship of God, and like Canisius's, Luther's taught as the First Commandment a prohibition of alien gods. But Luther's *Enchiridion* most insistently taught a single relationship, from the First Commandment to the Tenth: "We are to fear and love God" (Fig. 55). That relationship defined all others. As the *Enchiridion* taught, that was the First Commandment, and that First Commandment then informs and grounds each and every other Commandment—humankind's relationship to God, the emotions, love and fear, twinned, is the source and the purpose of each Commandment. "Worship" is listening and keeping the Word of God.

In the Genevan Catechism, "the first Table" comprised four Commandments, taught in 49 questions over six Sundays. The sum of the First Commandment:

Child.

That we reserve for him alone the honor proper to him, without transposing it to others.

Minister.

What honor is it that is proper to him?

Child.

To adore him alone, invoke him alone, have our faith in him, and those sensible things which are attributed to his majesty.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>56</sup>

The Genevan Catechism taught the Second Commandment over two Sundays. The separation into a discrete Commandment of what Canisius had treated as a secondary clause of the First Commandment and Luther left out entirely, offered both a different understanding of what it meant, to "honor God", and also the relationship of things to worship:<sup>57</sup>

56 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 57–8.

57 On the differing divisions of the First Commandment, see David C. Steinmetz, "The Reformation and the Ten Commandments," *Interpretation* 43(1989): 256–66.

Minister.

Say the second commandment.

Child.

“You shall not sculpt an image, nor a likeness of any of those things which are in the heaven above, or in the earth below it, or in the waters which are beneath the earth. You shall not honor them.”<sup>58</sup>

Catechesis of the Second Commandment taught why it was forbidden to make an image, whether to figure God or to adore an image instead of God. It amplified its teaching of God’s nature from the Apostles’ Creed: there could be no comparison between God, “who is Spirit eternal, incomprehensible”, and “matter corporeal, mortal, corruptible, and visible”. To represent, the catechumen learned, was to dishonor God. The prohibition of images, catechesis taught, encompassed all forms of adoration of images: “to pray before them, to genuflect or make some other sign of reverence, as if they manifested God to us”. Not all sculpture and painting were condemned—only those made for divine service or to honor something visible or for idolatry. The Commandment, the catechumen learned, redirected Christians to the goal of the proper worship of their only God, turning them away from all superstition and things carnal. The remaining questions on the Second Commandment took up God’s threat of punishment over generations, which denoted God’s power to maintain his glory and lead Christians to consider human lineage; his jealousy, which should give Christians fear; and his mercy, which he was free to grant where he will.

Minister.

We come to the Third Commandment.

Child.

“You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain.”<sup>59</sup>

On the 25th Sunday of 55, the catechumen learned what was encompassed in taking God’s name in vain. Nothing was to be said that did not glorify God—truth, which itself brought charity and concord to the community of Christians. It enjoined a praxis, always to think of God before speaking.<sup>60</sup> *The Catechism of the Church of Geneva* taught that “honoring God” encompassed

58 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 58. The summary of the catechesis of the Second Commandment is drawn from 58–61.

59 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 61.

60 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 61–2.

obeying his Ten Commandments, not making things to replace God, and being always conscious of God before one speaks.

The 26th Sunday took up the Fourth Commandment:

Child.

Remember to sanctify the day of repose. Six days you shall work and do all your works; the seventh, it is the [day of] rest of the Lord your God. On this [day], you shall not make any work whatsoever, neither yours, nor your servant, nor your maid, nor your cow, nor your ass, nor the stranger who is inside your door. For in six days God had made the heaven and the earth and all that they comprise; the seventh he rested; in so doing he blessed the day of rest and sanctified it.<sup>61</sup>

One day of the week was to be set aside from daily labors, “so that the Lord works in us”, “mortifying our flesh, that is, renouncing our nature, so that God governs us by his Spirit”. Setting aside the one day each week figures God’s continual working in Christian lives: “our having begun, he perseveres through our entire lives.” Seven “signifies perfection in Scripture”. On 27th Sunday, the catechumen learned that what Christians did on this one day, they ought to do on all seven, but they were too weak, and so, this one day was deputized. Worship was set forth: “the people assemble in order to be instructed in the truth of God, to pray communally, and to witness their faith and their religion”. Ceremony was abolished, because “we have its completion in Jesus Christ”: “our old man is crucified through the power of his death, and by his resurrection, we are resurrected in the newness of life”. Christians thus “observe the order constituted in the Church for hearing the Word of the Lord, communicating with public prayers and sacraments”. Christians “leave our appropriate work in order to place ourselves under his government”.

The Genevan Catechism did not use the word “idolatry” or any of its cognates. The Heidelberg Catechism did (Fig. 56):

Question 94. What does the Lord require in the first commandment?

That I must avoid and flee all idolatry, sorcery, enchantments, invocation of saints or other creatures because of the risk of losing my salvation. Indeed, I ought properly to acknowledge the only true God, trust in him

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61 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 62. For the catechesis of the Fourth Commandment, summarized here, see 62–5.

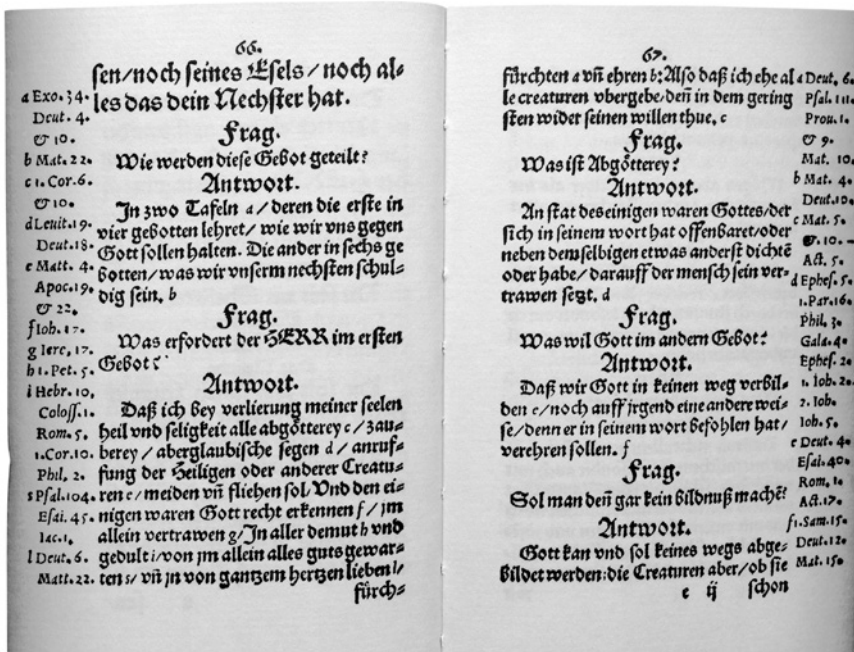


FIGURE 56 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu-// len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 66–67.*

alone, in humility and patience expect all good from him only, and love, fear, and honor him with my whole heart. In short, I should rather turn my back on all creatures than do the least thing against his will.

Question 95. What is idolatry?

It is to imagine or possess something in which to put one's trust in place of or beside the one true God who has revealed himself in his Word.

Question 96. What does God require in the second commandment?

That we should not represent him or worship him in any other manner than he has commanded in his Word.

Question 97. Should we, then, not make any images at all?

God cannot and should not be pictured in any way. As for creatures, although they may indeed be portrayed, God forbids making or having any likeness of them in order to worship them, or to use them to serve him.

Question 98. But may not pictures be tolerated in churches in place of books for unlearned people?



No, for we must not try to be wiser than God who does not want his people to be taught by means of lifeless idols, but through the living preaching of his Word.

*The Heidelberg Catechism*<sup>62</sup>

The catechumen of the Heidelberg Catechism learned to define “idolatry” as the misplacement of trust—“on something else thought or held”.<sup>63</sup> The Second Commandment, the catechumen learned, restricted true worship: any representation or any other mode of worship God had not authorized was forbidden. Images had no place in true worship, first because God cannot be represented, and second, because “true worship” was comprised in “the living preaching of his Word”.

The Heidelberg Catechism accorded the Third Commandment one more question than it did the Second:

Question 99. What is required in the third commandment?

That we must not profane or abuse the name of God by cursing, by perjury, or by unnecessary oaths. Nor are we to participate in such horrible sins by keeping quiet and thus giving silent consent. In a word, we must not use the holy name of God except with fear and reverence so that he may be rightly confessed and addressed by us, and be glorified in all our words and works.

Question 100. Is it, therefore, so great a sin to blaspheme God’s name by cursing and swearing that God is angry with those who do not try to prevent and forbid it as much as they can?

Yes, indeed; for no sin is greater or provokes his wrath more than the profaning of his name. That is why he commanded it to be punished with death.

Question 101. But may we not swear oaths by the name of God in a devout manner?

Yes, when the civil authorities require it of their subjects, or when it is otherwise needed to maintain and promote fidelity and truth, to the glory of God and the welfare of our neighbor. Such oath taking is grounded in God’s Word and has therefore been rightly used by God’s people under the old and new covenants.

Question 102. May we also swear by the saints and other creatures?

62 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 157–8.

63 Catechismus //Oder // Christlicher Unterricht / // wie der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), 67.

No; for a lawful oath is a calling upon God, as the only Searcher of hearts, to bear witness to the truth, and to punish me if I swear falsely. No creature deserves such honor.

For the catechumen of the Heidelberg Catechism, the Third Commandment encompassed not only blasphemy and speaking the truth, but also oaths, those that were allowed, those that were prohibited. God was to be honored in speech, and God alone could bear witness to truth.

Question 103. What does God require in the fourth commandment?

First, that the ministry of the gospel and Christian education be maintained, and that I diligently attend church, especially on the Lord's day, to hear the Word of God, to participate in the holy sacraments, to call publicly upon the Lord, and to give Christian service to those in need. Second, that I cease from my evil works all the days of my life, allow the Lord to work in me through his Spirit, and thus begin in this life the eternal Sabbath.

In the Heidelberg Catechism, the Fourth Commandment encompassed “worship”, not simply on one day, but “especially on the Lord's day”. Worship encompassed listening to the Word of God, as had been stipulated in the catechesis of the First Commandment, but also participation in the sacraments, “calling publicly upon the Lord”, and “Christian service to those in need”. Worship encompassed the care of one's neighbor. The “Sabbath” was not one day, but an eternal way of living that could begin “in this life”.

### Human Relations

If each catechism taught that the first three or four Commandments concerned humankind's relation to God—how one honored God in worship and in speech—the remaining Commandments in each catechism concerned how one honored God in one's daily relations: familial, ecclesial, political, intimate, social, and commercial. As taught by the individual catechisms, the remaining seven or six Commandments defined the conduct of children towards parents, all Christians toward persons in authority ecclesiastical and/or political, spouses, and “neighbors”—the range of human relations, including those mediated through possessions. While these Reformation catechisms did not pursue the kind of exhaustive exempla of late medieval handbooks on the Ten Commandments, they did teach the individual Commandments as

encompassing more than one kind of relationship, more than one kind of human emotion, explicating what each understood the human expression of love of God towards those near one.

### **“Honor your father and mother”**

In Canisius’s catechisms the catechumen learned that “father and mother” encompassed not only those who “are authors [auctores] of our lives”, but also civil magistrates and clergy, to whom were owed the same obedience and reverence as parents. Canisius’s *Little Catechism* dedicated another question to ecclesiastical authorities, which the catechumen learned, encompassed general Councils, decrees of the apostles and Church Fathers, the customs, pastors and pontiffs of the Church, while “obedience” encompassed as well no violent seizure of physical churches or sacerdotal authority.<sup>64</sup>

For Luther, all Commandments concerned foremost humankind’s relation to God: the catechumen’s answer for each Commandment began, “We are to fear and love God”. That love had, for each Commandment, a distinctive consequence. The Fourth, which for Luther, as for Canisius, was the Commandment to honor father and mother, also, as with Canisius, encompassed “others in authority”, whom the catechumen should “neither despise nor anger. . . but instead honor, serve, obey, love, and respect”.

On the twenty-eighth Sunday, the Genevan Catechism turned to “the second table” of the Law, which it taught in some thirty questions. Of those thirty, ten were given to the Fifth Commandment, “Honor your father and your mother”. The catechumen learned what “honor” encompassed: “children should be humble and obedient to their fathers and mothers, honor and revere them, assist them, and follow their commands as they should be followed”. So, too, the catechumen learned at the end of the catechesis of the Commandment that it encompassed not only parents, but “all superiors”.

In the Heidelberg Catechism, the Fifth Commandment followed immediately upon “the eternal Sabbath”. As in the other catechisms, the command to honor encompassed more than parents:

Question 104. What does God require in the fifth commandment?

That I show honor, love, and faithfulness to my father and mother and to all who are set in authority over me; that I submit myself with

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64 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 33.

respectful obedience to all their careful instruction and discipline; and that I also bear patiently their failures, since it is God's will to govern us by their hand.

As in the other catechisms, honor was coupled with obedience, in the Heidelberg Catechism, even in the face of "failures".

### "You shall not kill"

In Canisius's catechisms the Fifth Commandment, "You shall not kill", encompassed a range of negative relations beyond murder: "external force and injury", against the life and person of another, "anger, hate, rancor, disdain, and like emotions".<sup>65</sup> As the catechumen learned, violence against a person or a hostile attitude was as sinful and as deserving of opprobrium and punishment as killing. In Luther's catechisms, the Fifth Commandment, too, encompassed more than killing: "we neither endanger nor harm the lives of our neighbors, but instead help and support them in all of life's needs". In the Genevan Catechism, the Commandment prohibited not only murder, "outward works, but principally the emotions of our hearts": "hatred, rancor, and the desire to do our neighbor harm". The Commandment did not simply prohibit; God "requires us to love our neighbor, seek his well-being, all true affection, and without enmity". The Heidelberg Catechism accorded "You shall not kill" three questions, teaching that the Commandment prohibited not just murder, but to "abuse, hate, injure, or kill my neighbor, either with thought, or by word or gesture, much less by deed, whether by myself or through another, but to lay aside all desire for revenge; and that I do not harm myself or willfully expose myself to danger". "This", the Catechism taught, "is why the authorities are armed with the means to prevent murder". The Commandment's intent was to teach that God "abhors the root of murder, which is envy, hatred, anger, and desire for revenge, and that he regards all these as hidden murder". As with the Genevan Catechism, the Commandment did not simply prohibit, but called for "us to love our neighbor as ourselves, to show patience, peace, gentleness, mercy, and friendliness toward him, to prevent injury to him as much as we can, and also to do good to our enemies".<sup>66</sup>

65 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 34.

66 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 159–60.

### **“You shall not commit adultery”**

In Canisius's catechisms, what was felt in the heart was as culpable as what was done. The Commandment encompassed “fornication, adultery, the obscene and illegitimate concubinage, everything that opposes honest and truthful and ingenuous modesty, as well as those who look upon women with concupience, all of these commit adultery in their hearts”.<sup>67</sup> This Commandment, for Luther, was not restricted to relations between men and women: “we lead pure and decent lives in word and deed, and each of us loves and honors his or her spouse”. On the same day as the prohibition of murder in the Genevan Catechism, the catechumen was taught the Seventh Commandment: “to abstain from all debauchery”. This, too, included both outward works and the heart: “we are to be chaste not only in acts, but also in desires, words, and gesture, such that no part of us be soiled by unchastity”. Like the Genevan, the Heidelberg Catechism taught that the prohibition of adultery encompassed “all unchastity”, and called for “chaste and disciplined lives, whether in holy wedlock or in single life”. Like the Genevan Catechism, it taught a particular conceptualization of body and soul:

Question 109. Does God forbid nothing more than adultery and such gross sins in this commandment?

Since both our body and soul are a temple of the Holy Spirit, it is his will that we keep both pure and holy. Therefore he forbids all unchaste actions, gestures, words, thoughts, desires, and whatever may excite another person to them.<sup>68</sup>

As in the Genevan Catechism, outward expression and heart were bound: conduct was not a thing apart from the soul.

### **“You shall not steal”**

In Canisius's catechisms, the Seventh Commandment encompassed both an attitude towards things, to which we shall return, and the transgression of caritas towards another. If, for Luther, all human relations were subsumed beneath love and fear of God, property was ultimately subsumed to human relations,

67 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 34–5.

68 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 160.

as the catechumen learned in the catechesis of the Seventh, Ninth, and Tenth Commandments, though, as we shall see, his catechisms also taught that a number of practices with regard to things were prohibited. In each, the focus was not property, but love of neighbor. In the Genevan Catechism, the prohibition of theft encompassed a range of human relations as they were mediated by things; we shall return to it. In the Heidelberg Catechism the prohibition of theft largely concerned a person's relation to things. But the second question of its catechesis asked the intent of the Commandment:

That I work for the good of my neighbor wherever I can and may, deal with him as I would have others deal with me, and do my work well so that I may be able to help the poor in their need.<sup>69</sup>

**“You shall not speak false testimony against your neighbor”**

In Canisius's catechisms, the Commandment encompassed “mendacity, all abuse of language against your neighbor, that is, censoring, detractions, maledictions, flattery, lies, and perjury”.<sup>70</sup> In Luther's catechisms, this Commandment, too, was subsumed beneath love and fear

so that we do not tell lies about our neighbors, betray or slander them, or destroy their reputations. Instead we are to come to their defense, speak well of them, and interpret everything they do in the best possible light.<sup>71</sup>

Words, as well as acts, were to reflect that love and fear of God which led to kindness towards one's neighbor. The Ninth Commandment in the Genevan Catechism, “You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor”, encompassed heart as well as speech, the wish to harm another.<sup>72</sup> The Heidelberg Catechism linked its teaching of the Ninth Commandment to Christ's command:

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69 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 161.

70 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 35.

71 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 353.

72 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 69–70.



That I do not bear false witness against anyone, twist anyone's words, be a gossip or a slanderer, or condemn anyone lightly without a hearing. Rather I am required to avoid, under penalty of God's wrath, all lying and deceit as the works of the devil himself. In judicial and all other matters I am to love the truth, and to speak and confess it honestly. Indeed, insofar as I am able, I am to defend and promote my neighbor's good name.<sup>73</sup>

Unlike the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg did not teach an attentiveness to the relation between words and thoughts—that lying resides in the disjuncture between words and perception—but instead underlined the social in its teaching.

### Things

"Things" was not a discrete category in the Ten Commandments as taught by any Reformation catechism. Catechumens of Canisius's catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms were taught to hear in the Commandments the questions of images and possessions, the former in the context of worship, the latter in the context of theft. In them, things mediated other relationships: between God and humankind in worship, between persons in questions of property. The Commandments, as taught by these Reformation catechisms, set not only humankind's relationship to God, but the place of images in humankind's honoring of God. Luther's catechisms were silent on images, but addressed explicitly property, inheritance, and possession—each foremost a relationship between a person and things. All four catechisms set not only human relations, but the place of possessions in those relations.

### Images

In Canisius's catechisms (Fig. 57) and the Heidelberg Catechism, "idolatry" was separate from—though not always discrete from—image-making. It might or might not involve images, but the essence of idolatry was worship in the wrong direction: whether it was Ethiopians worshipping the simulacra of their false gods or adoring images instead of God himself. Proper worship, correct worship, as the catechisms taught, resided not simply in what one did, but towards

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73 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 161.

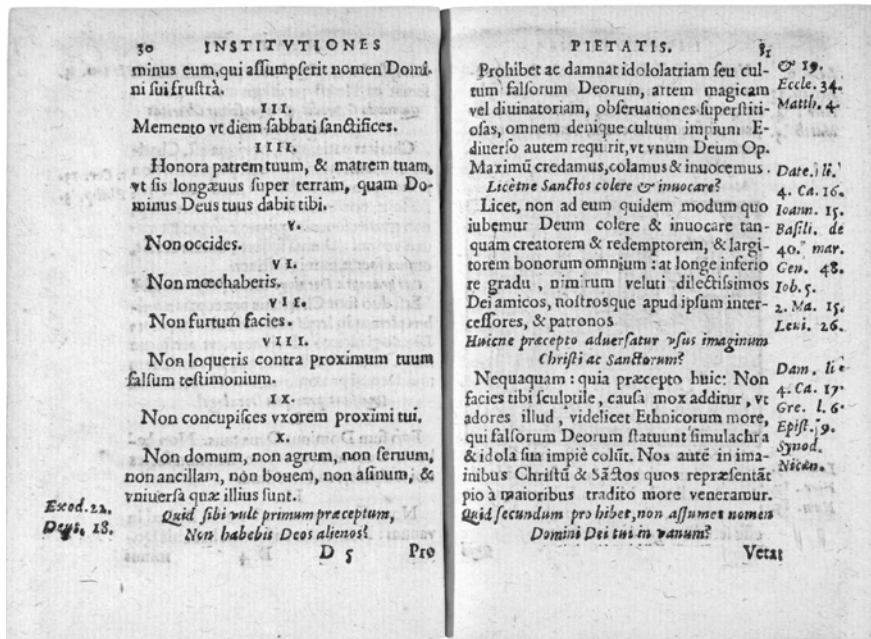


FIGURE 57 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 30–31. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

whom one's acts and thoughts were directed—it resided, as catechisms taught, in an orientation.

Is not the use of images of Christ and the saints against this precept?

No, because this is the precept: Do not sculpt for yourself anything for the purpose of speaking to it, in order to worship it, as was Ethiopian custom, who set up simulachra of their false Gods and worshiped the idols of their impiety. We however, venerate [veneramur] in images Christ and the saints, whom they represent according to pious custom.

Peter Canisius, *Little Catechism*<sup>74</sup>

Beginning with the *Summa* of 1555, Canisius's catechisms drew upon a vocabulary medieval theologians such as Aquinas had developed to differentiate the worship due God from “veneration”, an attitude, the catechisms taught,

74 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 30–31.

appropriate to things that could “represent” or in the words of the *Summa*, make present, Christ and the saints.<sup>75</sup> The catechumen learned in Canisius’s catechisms to differentiate between “simulacra”, a word to designate false gods and idols, and those images which human beings made to represent, to make present, God, Christ, the saints. The persons represented—God, Christ, the saints—the catechumen also learned to place in a hierarchy: God and Christ were true God, and therefore supreme and separate from the saints. “Simulacra” were thus likenesses of human creations, while images represented beings which existed outside human imagination. “Representation” was the antithesis of “simulacra”—it “made present” God or Christ or saints.

Image-making for both the Genevan and the Heidelberg Catechisms was a thing apart from false worship, a separate Commandment from the prohibition of strange gods (Figs. 48 and 54). Images were not “gods” for either catechism, but a separate problem: “representation”. Calvin’s catechisms did not use the word “idolatry” at any point in their catechesis of the Commandments, nor did they speak of the worship of “false gods”. In them, the focus was the relationship of God to matter. In separating what Canisius’s catechism taught as a part of the First Commandment and Luther’s catechism mentioned not at all, the Genevan Catechism accorded its own discrete prohibition to any effort to represent God in any “corporeal, mortal, corruptible, and visible matter”. The catechism taught an express division of spirit and matter, an essential chasm between an invisible, transcendent, and unrepresentable God and all things material. Thus, it followed, that any act of worship or reverence, of any kind towards any made thing was prohibited. “Representation” was an ontological impossibility.

Question 95. What is idolatry?

It is to imagine or possess something in which to put one’s trust in place of or beside the one true God who has revealed himself in his Word.

Question 96. What does God require in the second commandment?

That we should not represent him or worship him in any other manner than he has commanded in his Word.

Question 97. Should we, then, not make any images at all?

God cannot and should not be pictured in any way. As for creatures, although they may indeed be portrayed, God forbids making or having any likeness of them in order to worship them, or to use them to serve him.

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75 Petrus Canisius *Der Große Katechismus*, trans. and commentary Hubert Filser and Stephan Leimgruber (Regensburg, 2003), 109.

Question 98. But may not pictures be tolerated in churches in place of books for unlearned people?

No, for we must not try to be wiser than God who does not want his people to be taught by means of lifeless idols, but through the living preaching of his Word.

*The Heidelberg Catechism*<sup>76</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism, like Canisius's catechisms, treated idolatry under the First Commandment, which it taught as the prohibition of other gods. Idolatry, it taught, was "to put one's trust" in anything other than God, whether imagined or possessed—idea or object. Unlike Canisius's catechisms and like the Genevan, it taught the prohibition of graven images as its own Commandment, something separate from false gods. Unlike the Genevan Catechism, it did not ground the prohibition of image-making in an essential difference between spirit and matter, God and the materiality of images, but in obedience—"we must not try to be wiser than God" [Denn wir nit sollen wieser sein denn Gott]<sup>77</sup>—and in an express contrast between "mute idols", in the German, or "mute simulacra", in the Latin, and "the living preaching of his word" in both.<sup>78</sup>

### "Theft"

All four catechisms subsumed their teaching on theft to love of neighbor—the transgression resided not in taking something that one did not own rightfully, but taking it *from* someone. The Commandment, for each, was less about property, about ownership per se, than it was about the relationship with one's neighbor as mediated through things. Each of the catechisms specified a number of different relationships with things that the prohibition of theft also encompassed. In Canisius's catechisms, it began with "rei alienae"—things which were not one's own, literally alien to one—and encompassed "seizure and usurpation, that is, theft, rapine, usury, wrongful gains, evil deceptions,

76 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 157–8.

77 Catechismus //Oder // Christlicher Unterricht / // wie der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), 68.

78 Catechismus //Oder // Christlicher Unterricht / // wie der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfaltz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johannes Mayer, 1563), 68; CATECH-//SIS RELIGIONIS// CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRA-//DITVR IN ECCLESIIIS ET // SCHOLIS PALA-//TINATVS (Heidelberg: Michael Schirat, 1563), 43.

iniquitous contracts”, any commerce “that wounds Christian charity and circumvents our neighbor”.<sup>79</sup> In Luther’s, the Commandment prohibited one to “take our neighbor’s money or property”, or to “acquire them by using shoddy merchandise or crooked deals”.<sup>80</sup> It encompassed both theft and practices that were legal, but, the catechisms taught, not moral. The Genevan Catechism extended the prohibition beyond the legal category of theft, which, as it taught, could be prosecuted. “Theft”, it taught, encompassed “all evil traffic and unreasonable means of acquiring for ourselves our neighbor’s goods, whether by violence or fraud, or any other sort that God has not approved”. In this, as in other Commandments, the Genevan Catechism taught that “the Legislator is spiritual”, and therefore, “theft” encompassed not simply acts, but “those enterprises, desires, and deliberations to enrich ourselves at the expense of our neighbors”. Love of neighbor, in this instance, meant “that we endeavor to preserve for each one his own”. The Heidelberg Catechism offered the most extensive definition of “theft”:

He forbids not only the theft and robbery which civil authorities punish, but God also labels as theft all wicked tricks and schemes by which we seek to get for ourselves our neighbor’s goods, whether by force or under pretext of right, such as false weights and measures, deceptive advertising and merchandizing, counterfeit money, exorbitant interest, or any other means forbidden by God. He also forbids all greed and misuse and waste of his gifts.<sup>81</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism not only prohibited a range of commercial practices, but the broad categories of “greed” and “waste”. So, too, it brought forward the poor in its second question on the Commandment: “That I work for the good of my neighbor wherever I can and may, deal with him as I would have others deal with me, and do my work well so that I may be able to help the poor in their need”.<sup>82</sup>

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79 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 35.

80 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 353.

81 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 160.

82 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 161.

## Coveting

Canisius's and Luther's catechisms distinguished two Commandments prohibiting "coveting", while the Genevan and Heidelberg treated "coveting" as a single Commandment. For Canisius, "covetousness" was an attitude of the will towards the possessions of another—whether wife or house—which could encompass envy and cupidity.<sup>83</sup> Cupidity, the failure to be satisfied with one's own, the process of catechesis implied with the next question, was a failure of love for God and neighbor.

In Luther's *Enchiridion*, "coveting" encompassed acts:

### The Ninth

You are not to covet your neighbor's house.

What is this? Answer:

We are to fear and love God, so that we do not try to trick our neighbors out of their inheritance or property or try to get it for ourselves by claiming to have a legal right to it and the like, but instead be of help and service to them in keeping what is theirs.

### The Tenth

You are not to covet your neighbor's wife, male or female servant, cattle or whatever is his.

What is this? Answer:

We are to fear and love God, so that we do not entice, force, or steal away from our neighbors their spouses, household workers, or livestock, but instead urge them to stay and fulfill their responsibilities to our neighbors.<sup>84</sup>

For Luther, property was the matter of human relations.

The Genevan Catechism's catechesis of the Tenth Commandment did not concern things of any kind. Its catechesis of coveting focused on "sin". With this Commandment, God "requires of us such an integrity that no evil cupidity enters our hearts in order to solicit them and lead them into evil".<sup>85</sup> This Commandment was to govern will and mind, to bring the catechumen into the conscious living of a life oriented to God—and, implicitly, away from the possessions of others: house, wife, servants, animals. In line with its teaching

83 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 36.

84 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 352–4.

85 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 70–71.



on representation, its catechesis of the last Commandment sought to orient the catechumen towards a God who was essentially different from matter, and therefore all things.

In the Heidelberg Catechism, catechesis of the Tenth Commandment also transformed “coveting” into a more general definition of “sin”:

That there should never enter our heart even the least inclination or thought contrary to any commandment of God, but that we should always hate sin with our whole heart and find satisfaction and joy in all righteousness.<sup>86</sup>

In both the Genevan and the Heidelberg Catechism, the catechumen learned to equate “covet” with “sin”.

### Conclusion

The four catechisms taught different conceptualizations of what constituted proper worship of God. They taught similar, but not identical definitions of “honor”, which, for each, began with the proper attitude towards God and extended through relations with parents to include persons in positions of authority ecclesiastical and political. They taught markedly different conceptualizations of the relationship between God and Christ, on the one hand, and the materialities of worship on the other, including markedly different understandings of “representation”. They taught different ways of thinking about speech, though all the catechisms taught catechumens to think of all speech as audible to God, just as all conduct was visible to God, and, as Canisius’s catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms explicitly taught, God knew the movements of the heart, too—for these three, conduct and motive were not to be considered as separable in the eyes of God.

The catechisms taught far more similar conceptualizations of “love of neighbor”, which grounded the prohibitions of theft and false witness for all, and coveting in Canisius’s and Luther’s catechisms. And all catechisms taught that the world of material goods was governed foremost by God and secondarily by the love of neighbor Christ had commanded. Catechumens were taught to affiliate different activities with the prohibition of theft, to understand “theft”, in each case, as encompassing more than taking what was one’s neighbor’s

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86 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 161.

possessions, but in the case of each catechism, encompassing specific social or economic practices.

And they taught different relationships between the Ten Commandments and the Christian life. Canisius's catechisms taught the Ten Commandments as encompassing all that was forbidden, even as they taught that the Commandments encompassed more than the literal meaning of their own wording. For Evangelicals, the Commandments were the measure of human sinfulness, the means by which Christians could discern the sheer scope of their sinfulness. No Christian could live, they taught, without help, within the moral compass of the Commandments. All Christians were to seek, however, to do so.

In the logic of the codex, in Canisius's catechisms, Luther's catechisms, and the Genevan Catechism, the catechumen learned the sacraments after learning the Ten Commandments. Perhaps because the sacrament of penance was no longer a shared childhood experience by the time it was written, the Heidelberg Catechism framed the Ten Commandments so very differently—not as the beginning of self-knowledge, as Luther taught, nor as the counterpoint to knowledge of God, as the Genevan Catechism taught, but as the measure for gratitude for everything that had preceded it in the process of catechesis. In Canisius's, Luther's, and Calvin's catechisms, the catechumen approached the sacraments through the Ten Commandments, the lessons of the Ten Commandments—whether gift or measure—preparing him or her for them. In the Heidelberg Catechism, the catechumen learned the two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist, before learning the Ten Commandments, and learned the Ten Commandments just before being returned to “the world”, just before learning the praxis of prayer.

deo patri om̃i **I**nipotentī in vnitāte  
spiritus **S**ancti om̃is honor & gloria.

**D** *Er omnia secula seculor̃* **O** *Remus preceptis*

*salutaribus moniti et diuina institutiōe formati audem⁹ dicere*

**D** *Ater noster qui es in celis Sanctificetur nomē tu um*

*Adueniat regnū tuū. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in*

*terra. Panē nostrū quotidianū da nobis hodie. Et dimitte*

*nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittim⁹ debitorib⁹ nostris*

*Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.*

*Sed libera nos a malo.*

**Accipe patenam.**

**L**ibera nos quesumus domine ab



FIGURE 58 [Missale s[e]c[un]d[u]m ritum Auguste[n]sis ecclesie]. (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1510), Canon of the Mass, n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## Prayer

Pater noster, qui es in coelis.  
Sanctificetur nomen tuum.  
Adveniat regnum tuum.  
Fiat voluntas tua,  
    sicut in coelo et in terra.  
Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie,  
et dimitte nobis debita nostra,  
    sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.  
Et ne nos inducas in tentationem,  
sed libera nos a malo.  
    Roman Missal<sup>1</sup>

O oure father which arte in heven, halowed be thy name.  
Let thy kyngdom come.  
Thy wyll be fulfilled, as well in erth as hit ys in heven.  
Geve vs this daye oure dayly breade.  
And forgeve vs oure treaspases, even as we forgeve them which  
    treaspas vs.  
Leede vs not into temptacion, but delyvre vs from yvell.  
For thyne is the kyngedom and the power, and the glorye for ever.  
Amen.  
    William Tyndale (1525/26)<sup>2</sup>

### The Lord's Prayer in the Christian West

The Lord's Prayer did not begin as a text—not on papyrus, not as stone tablets. It began orally, as Jesus had taught, as in Matthew 6:9–13, in the Sermon on the Mount, “Pray then in this way”, or, as in Luke 11:2b–4, in response to his disciples’ request, “Lord, teach us to pray”.<sup>3</sup> Before it was written, it was spoken,

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- 1 Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C., *The Lord's Prayer: A Survey Theological and Literary* (Notre Dame, 1992), 216.
  - 2 Ayo, *The Lord's Prayer*, 225.
  - 3 *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, New Revised Standard Version, ed. Michael D. Coogan, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2001). For an introduction to the scholarship on the relationship of the two

probably aloud, probably collectively among those who held themselves the children of the 'Father' in the opening address.<sup>4</sup> In the first century, it was considered a "treasure," that which was shared, along with the Eucharist, by those who had been baptized into Christ's Church.<sup>5</sup>

So let us pray, most beloved brethren, as God the Teacher has taught. It is a friendly and intimate prayer to beseech God with his own words, for the prayer of Christ to ascend to His ears. Let the Father acknowledge the words of His Son, when we make prayer. Let him who dwells within

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versions, see James H. Charlesworth, "A Caveat on Textual Transmission and the Meaning of the Abba: A Study of the Lord's Prayer," in *The Lord's Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Valley Forge, 1994), 1–14; and Mark Harding, "The Lord's Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era: A Bibliography," *ibid.*, esp. 186–201. For a close textual study of the two versions, see Frederic Henry Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (reprint Piscataway, NJ, 2004 (1891)). D. Paul Fiebig argues for close textual affinities between Jewish prayer at the time of Jesus and the Lord's Prayer, *Das Vaterunser: Ursprung, Sinn und Bedeutung des christlichen Hauptgebetes* (Gütersloh, 1927), 28–58.

- 4 The *Didache* may be the earliest evidence that the Lord's Prayer was taught as the words Jesus had given his followers to pray: "Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in His Gospel, thus pray ye: Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed by Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, as in heaven, so also on earth; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever. Three times in the day pray ye so," Eric George Jay, *Origen's Treatise on Prayer* (London, 1954), 8. It is also one of the earliest testimonies for the praxis of praying the Lord's Prayer. Cyprian urges his readers to speak the prayer silently, but then takes up the implications of "our" for collective prayer, Cyprian, "Treatise on the Lord's Prayer," in *Saint Cyprian: Treatises*, ed. and trans. Roy J. Deferrari (New York, 1958), 123–59.
- 5 Joachim Jeremias has suggested that among Christians of the first century, the Lord's Prayer was not something one should know in order to be a Christian, but something one learned after baptism, a "treasure" reserved for the faithful alone, *The Prayers of Jesus* (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series, 6) (1967), 83–85. Jeremias argues in support of T. W. Manson, "Whereas nowadays the Lord's Prayer is understood as a common property of all people, it was otherwise in the earliest times. As one of the most holy treasures of the church, the Lord's Prayer, together with the Lord's supper, was reserved for full members, and it was not disclosed to those who stood outside," 85. That sense is confirmed in Robert L. Simpson, *The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church* (Philadelphia, 1965), 21. On the Lord's Prayer in the early Church, see also Roy Hammerling, ed., *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century* (Brill Companions to the Christian Tradition 13) (Leiden, 2008), Section 1. On the Lord's Prayer and baptism in the early Church, see Roy Hammerling, "The Lord's Prayer: A Cornerstone of Early Baptismal Education," in *ibid.*, 167–82.

our breast Himself also be our voice, and since we have Him as the advocate for our sins before the Father, let us put forward the words of our Advocate. For since He says: "Whatsoever we shall ask the Father in His name, He will give us," how much more effectively do we obtain what we seek in the name of Christ, if we ask with His own prayer?

Cyprian, "Treatise on the Lord's Prayer" (252)<sup>6</sup>

"The Lord's Prayer", the name itself, designated among all the prayers the one "to beseech God with his own words", the one in which the person praying speaks Christ's own words and in which Christ becomes that person's "voice". And it has served not simply as a prayer, but as itself that by which prayer has been defined, as the ideal and the model.<sup>7</sup> Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Francis of Assisi, Thomas Aquinas, in sermons, treatises, and catechetical lectures taught the words and the form as the archetype of how to pray, of what praying is.<sup>8</sup> What 'prayer' is, for Christians, is inseparable from the Lord's Prayer.<sup>9</sup>

From the earliest days, the Lord's Prayer was collective—spoken by groups and also that "treasure" the group shared. By the second century, the Lord's Prayer was being said at baptism, a part of the sacrament at a time when it was

6 Cyprian, "Treatise on the Lord's Prayer," 128–29.

7 On the Lord's Prayer as a model in the Church Fathers, see Simpson, *The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church*, Ch. 4.

8 Ayo, *The Lord's Prayer*; Adalbert Hamman, O.F.M., ed. and trans., *Le Pater expliqué par les Pères* (Paris, 1962); Roy Hammerling, "St. Augustine of Hippo: Prayer as Sacrament," in *A History of Prayer*, 183–97; Jay, *Origen's Treatise on Prayer*; Simpson, *The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church*; Giuseppe Scarpit, *Il Padre nostro di San Francesco* (Brescia, 2000); Corey Barnes, "Thomas Aquinas on Christ's Prayer," in *A History of Prayer*, 319–35; S. Francis Mary Schwab, *David of Augsburg's 'Paternoster' and the Authenticity of his German Works* (Munich, 1971); Klaus Bernhard Schurr, *Hören und handeln: Lateinische Auslegungen des Vaterunsers in der Alten Kirche bis zum 5. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1985); Marcus von Weida: *Ein nützliche lere vnd vnderweysunge wye vn was der mensch bethen sole . . .*, ed. Anthony Van der Lee (Assen, 1973).

9 "Scholars have had a lot to say about prayer. They have defined it as a communication, dialogue, monologue, act, art, performance, experience, and text. Prayer has been analyzed as the expression of belief, doctrine, spirituality, identity and consciousness. It has been discussed in relation to sacrifice, magic, and science. Each approach has its merits, and altogether these studies give us a rich, varied picture of the human activity called prayer," Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer* (Cambridge, 2012), 139. Reinburg has found the Credo bound in Prayer Books and has explored it as a prayer, esp. at 196. For the difficulties in defining what a prayer is, see Simpson, *The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church*, Introduction.



a rite of initiation for adults to join a persecuted minority.<sup>10</sup> By the fourth century, the Lord's Prayer had become a part of the liturgy (Fig. 58). The Matthean version was translated into Latin before Jerome's Vulgate—before there was a canon of Scripture, the Lord's Prayer entered the vernacular of the Roman Empire.<sup>11</sup> In 350, Cyril of Jerusalem spoke of the placement of Lord's Prayer just before Communion in the Mass as something familiar, long a practice.<sup>12</sup> In the sixth century, Pope Gregory I fixed its place in the Mass of the Roman Rite, right after the canon, immediately before the moment of Communion—its words, “give us this day our daily bread”, by then resonant with the bread of the Eucharist. The doxology, “For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory”, which is there in the *Didache* redaction of the Matthean version and which Tyndale added to his translation, seems to be have been liturgical in origin, ancient, but not scriptural.<sup>13</sup>

The Lord's Prayer was a part of the sacrament of baptism and the liturgy of the Mass, immediately proximate in the cadences of the liturgy to the sacrament of Communion. It could be heard in every cathedral, parish church, and chapel. It could also be heard in every cloister as a part of the liturgy of the hours:<sup>14</sup>

Most certainly the celebration of Lauds and Vespers should never pass without the Lord's Prayer said aloud at the end by the Superior for all to hear, because of the thorns of scandal which are likely to spring up: so that the brothers, by means of the promise they make in that prayer which says Forgive us as we forgive [*Dimitte nobis sicut et nos dimittimus*], may purge themselves of this sort of vice. But at the other offices,

10 Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 83; Hammerling, “The Lord's Prayer: A Cornerstone of Early Baptismal Education.”

11 Ayo, *The Lord's Prayer*, 216.

12 The earliest evidence for the Lord's Prayer in the Mass is a catechetical lecture by Cyril of Jerusalem in 350, Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 82. On the Lord's Prayer in the Mass, see Ingemar Furberg, *Das Pater Noster in der Messe* (Lund, 1968); Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe*, 5th ed. (Bonn, 2003), II: 343–63.

13 Ayo, *The Lord's Prayer*, 7.

14 On the hours of prayer, see Jay, *Origen's Treatise on Prayer*, Appendix A; L. Edward Phillips, “Prayer in the First Four Centuries AD,” in *A History of Prayer*, esp. 31–48.

only the last part of this prayer is sung aloud, so that the response may be offered by all: But deliver us from evil [Sed libera nos a malo].

Rule of Saint Benedict<sup>15</sup>

In every space consecrated to Christian worship, the Lord's Prayer was spoken; in cloisters, eight times a day; in churches, as frequently as the Mass was celebrated. It may have been the most familiar sound of medieval Christendom, more frequent than bells, spoken in more places than any other words of Christianity.

By the sixteenth century, Christians first heard the Lord's Prayer no later than their own baptism, ideally within three days of birth; they heard it at Mass as children. They may well have heard their parents praying the Lord's Prayer, perhaps in the morning, perhaps at meals, perhaps at Vespers. Those of monastic and mendicant orders had recited the prayer in the Divine Office; those ordained, in the celebration of the Mass. They preached in churches depicting devout Christians, and very likely, Christ himself, in prayer: kneeling, as had come to be the practice, hands together, head bent, perhaps the lips in silent movement.<sup>16</sup> The Pater Noster was no simple text, print on a page, but the Vaterunser, Our Father, Notre Père, the words "in the heart" of each Christian, which Jesus had given, that he or she might speak to God, collectively, but also in solitude, aloud, but also "without the mouth".<sup>17</sup>

The Lord's Prayer was spoken before it was written. Once written, it engendered its own sea of texts. For Tertullian, it "presents a *breviarium totius evangelii*—'an epitome of the entire Gospel'".<sup>18</sup> Homilies on the Lord's Prayer, catechetical sermons, and handbooks on prayer sought to teach through the words of the Pater Noster what a person was to think, to do—the orientation of heart, mind, and spirit, the position of the body—in order to pray.<sup>19</sup> Woodcuts

15 *The Rule of Saint Benedict: Latin & English*, trans. Luke Dysinger, O.S.B. (Valyermo, CA, 1996), 57.

16 Cf. Reindert Falkenburg, "Hans Memling's Van Nieuwenhove Diptych: The Place of Prayer in Early Netherlandish Devotional Painting," in *Essays in Context: Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych*, ed. John Oliver Hand and Ron Spronk (New Haven, 2006), 92–103.

17 Marcus von Weida, "das erste Capitel was bethen sey," *Marcus von Weida: Ein nutzliche lere*, 32–35. On the Lord's Prayer in late medieval devotional practice, see Barbara H. Jaye, *The Pilgrimage of Prayer: The Texts and Iconography of the Exercitium Super Pater Noster* (Salzburg, 1990); Ulrich Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters* (Saecvla Spiritualia 28) (Baden-Baden, 1994).

18 Simpson, *The Interpretation of Prayer in the Early Church*, 44.

19 In addition to Jaye and Rehm, see Bernd Adam, *Katechetische Vaterunserauslegungen: Texte und Untersuchungen zu deutschsprachigen Auslegungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1976)

depicted the posture,<sup>20</sup> the body in prayer, even as texts sought to teach lay men, women, and children to speak the Lord's Prayer "without the mouth", "in the heart".<sup>21</sup>

As early as Augustine, the Lord's Prayer was divided into seven separate *petitii*.<sup>22</sup>

Pater noster qui es in caelis

(I) Sanctificetur nomen tuum

(II) Adveniat regnum tuum

(III) Fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra

(IV) Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie

(V) Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris

(VI) Et ne nos inducas in temptationem

(VII) Sed libera nos a malo.<sup>23</sup>

That number, seven, then served as a thread, weaving the Lord's Prayer into the ever more complex tapestry of late antique and medieval Christian culture.<sup>24</sup> In his sermons, Augustine wove together the seven requests with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and seven beatitudes, preaching that the seven requests prepared Christians for each gift of the Holy Spirit through which then each might become holy. In his explication of the Lord's Prayer, Radabertus of Corbie patterned the seven requests in an "ordo descensionis", which Anselm of Canterbury, Hugo of St. Cher, and others took up in their writings. Hugo of St. Victor linked the seven requests to the seven deadly sins and the seven virtues: the Lord's Prayer became the golden thread leading through the sins

20 On posture in prayer in the Church Fathers, see Jay, *Origen's Treatise on Prayer*, Appendix B.

21 Marcus von Weida, "das erste Capitel was bethen sey," *Marcus von Weida: Ein nützliche lere*, 32–35. On the Lord's Prayer in late medieval devotional practice, see Jaye, *The Pilgrimage of Prayer*; Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*.

22 On the translation of the Latin *petitio*, see below. On the structuring of the Lord's Prayer, see J. Angénieux, *Les différents types de structure du Pater dans l'histoire de son exégèse* (Leiden, 1970).

23 Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*, 9. The following discussion of the development of medieval explications of the Lord's Prayer is drawn from Rehm, Chapter 3.1.

24 A striking exception seems to have been Thomas Aquinas who, in his sermon on the Lord's Prayer, divided it into ten sections, Thomas Aquinas, *The Three Greatest Prayers: Commentaries on the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Apostles' Creed* (Manchester, NH, 1990), 99–160.

towards holiness. In his clarification of the Mass, Pope Innocent III patterned the seven requests in an ascending order, leading towards the Eucharist, which was also an ascent of the spirit over time, and which William Durandus then further explicated in his *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. From the thirteenth century onwards, sermons and devotional literature for the laity wove together the seven requests, the beatitudes, the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues, the seven stages of perfection in various patterns. Robert Grosseteste linked the seven to seven illnesses as well. One of the most popular of late medieval handbooks on the Lord's Prayer, Laurent of Orléans' *Somme le Roi* wove together the seven requests, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the descending order, the ascending order, specific virtues, placing the prayer at center in the eternal battle of virtues and vices.<sup>25</sup> The fourteenth century witnessed the proliferation of handbooks teaching various constellations of the Lord's Prayer and virtues or vices or gifts of the Holy Spirit or steps of the soul in ascent. In the fifteenth century, the Lord's Prayer was connected to the Passion of Christ: the seven sufferings and the seven times Christ bled.<sup>26</sup> These, in turn, engendered images—figures, trees, and scales—as well as objects, prayer beads, and a burgeoning body of allegorical literature.<sup>27</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, the Lord's Prayer had become the breviary of medieval Christianity.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Lord's Prayer was also one of hundreds of prayers.<sup>28</sup> It was contained in Books of Hours that then also offered multiple prayers to be spoken during the Mass, at illness, at childbirth, during travel, to saints according to a specific need.<sup>29</sup> Nor was it the only prayer taught in catechesis in the medieval Church: it was often paired with the Ave Maria,

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25 Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*, 16–17.

26 Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*, 20.

27 Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters*.

28 "To understand prayer in this era, two ideas are key: prayer was speech, and prayer was a rite. . . . Words and rites of prayer were at the same time collective and individual. Prayer could be personal, private, even solitary. But the act of prayer was saturated with meanings created by family, community, church and custom," Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*, 140. For Erasmus, prayer was "the human 'colloquium cum Deo'", Hilmar Pabel, *Conversing with God: Prayer in Erasmus' Pastoral Writings* (Toronto, 1997), 194; on Erasmus on the Lord's Prayer, see ch. 3.

29 "Prayers took the form of many kinds of speech. They could be dialogues, confessions, laments, orations, lessons, arguments, debates, oaths, stories, poems, songs and hymns, greetings, proverbs, riddles, and street or market cries," Reinburg, *French Books of Hours*, 143. The three most common types Reinburg finds are "the colloquy-style prayer, the contract-style prayer, and the charm", 49–62.

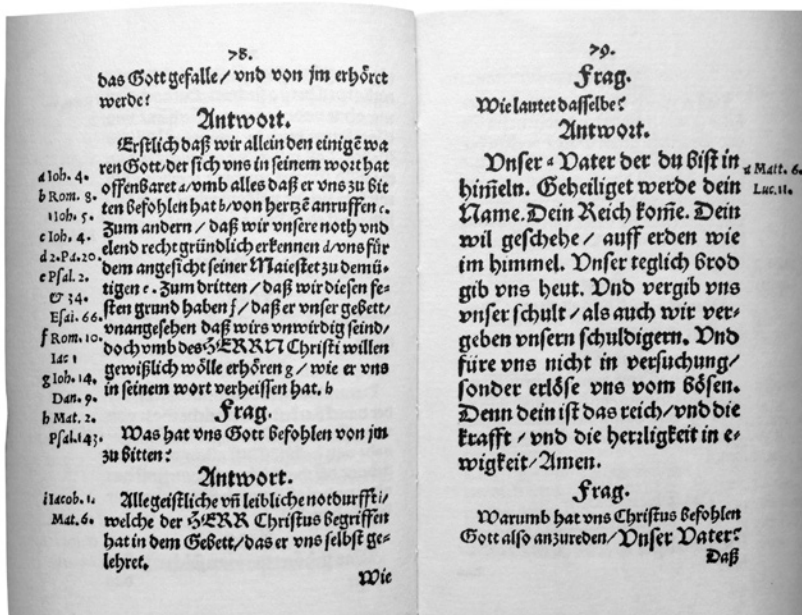


FIGURE 59 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 78–79.

a prayer with origins in the Gospel of Luke which did not acquire its final form until the Council of Trent.<sup>30</sup>

## Reformation

Leon: What is prayer?

Hans: It is an elevating of the soul to God in spirit and in truth.

Leon: How do you pray?

Hans: As Christ taught his disciples. Matt. 6, Luke 11.

30 "It would seem that in the Middle Ages the Ave often became so closely connected with the Pater noster, that it was treated as a sort of *farsura*, or insertion, before the words *et ne nos inducas in tentationem* when the Pater noster was said *secreto*," Herbert Thurston, "Hail Mary," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1910), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07110b.htm> accessed 30 August 2013. On the Ave Maria as a devotional practice, see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge, 2007), 40, 230–1, 241, 254; on Evangelical teaching, 54–63; on Canisius and Marian piety, see Heal *passim*.

Leon: How did he teach them to pray?

Hans: Thus: Our Father who art in heaven. Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. They will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Balthasar Hubmaier, *A Christian Catechism Which Every Person Should Know Before He Is Baptised in Water* (1526)<sup>31</sup>

[Question 240]

Minister.

Speak now of the manner of praying to God. Does it suffice to make it by the tongue or are the spirit and the heart required?

Child.

The tongue is not always necessary. But it must be done with intelligence and affection.

....

[Question 253]

Minister.

Let us now speak of the substance of our prayers. Are we allowed to demand all that we want in the moment, or is it under a certain regulation?

Child.

If we pursue our own imaginations, our prayers would be poorly regulated. For we are so ignorant that we cannot judge what is good to demand, just as our desires are so disobedient that it is better to place them under the bridle.

...

[Question 255]

Minister.

What instruction has [God] granted?

Child.

In all Scripture, he has granted it to us very fully. But, in order to point us toward a better goal, he has given a brief formula which comprises all the points that are licit and expedient for us to demand.

...

[Question 295]

Minister.

Is it not licit to ask something else than has here been recited?

<sup>31</sup> Balthasar Hubmaier, "A Christian Catechism: Which Every Person Should Know Before He is Baptized in Water," trans. Denis Janz, in *Three Reformation Catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran*, ed. Denis Janz (New York, 1982), 144; Balthasar Hubmaier, "Eine christliche Lehrtafel 1526 (gedruckt 1526–1527)," *Balthasar Hubmaier: Schriften*, ed. Gunnar Westin and Torsten Bergsten (Gütersloh, 1962), 312.



Child.

However much we are free to use other words and another form and manner, no other prayer is as pleasing to God, unless it be in accord with this one, as the sole rule to pray well.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>32</sup>

For all Evangelicals, not only had Jesus taught his disciples *how* to pray; he had given them the words to pray, and those words were the Lord's Prayer (Fig. 59).<sup>33</sup> Most, unlike Johannes Brenz, found in Jesus's sermon or lesson a command that excluded other prayers, foremost the Ave Maria, but also prayers to saints. Most, like John Calvin, allowed Christians to formulate prayers, but urged them not to deviate from the words of the Lord's Prayer. For Evangelicals, the Lord's Prayer was the perfect prayer: its words originating, like Scripture itself, in Jesus, and those words encompassing all that a Christian need ask.

The place of the Lord's Prayer in worship differed from one Evangelical Church to another. The Lutheran German Mass preserved the Lord's Prayer in its place, just before the sacrament of Communion. Reformed and Anabaptist celebrations of the Eucharist adhered to the Gospel narrative of the Last Supper, albeit in different ways. They severed the Eucharist from the ancient cadences of song, prayer, and Scripture of the medieval liturgy, thereby also separating the Lord's Prayer from the sacrament of Communion. For them, the Lord's Prayer remained an act of worship, both individual and collective, but, as we shall see, the "bread" of the Prayer was no longer the bread of the Eucharist.

### The Lord's Prayer in the Codex

For all European Christians, fixing the Lord's Prayer within the catechetical codex changed it. It became one of the three *texts* constitutive of Christian identity for the Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic Churches. Even as Canisius's catechisms taught the traditional division of seven and linked the requests to gifts of the Holy Spirit, the catechumen approached the Lord's Prayer after mastering the Creed—moving from Faith to Hope (Fig. 60)<sup>34</sup>—in the spatial

32 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, 2nd ed. (Geneva, 2005), 76, 79–80, and 89, respectively.

33 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563).

34 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS //CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575).

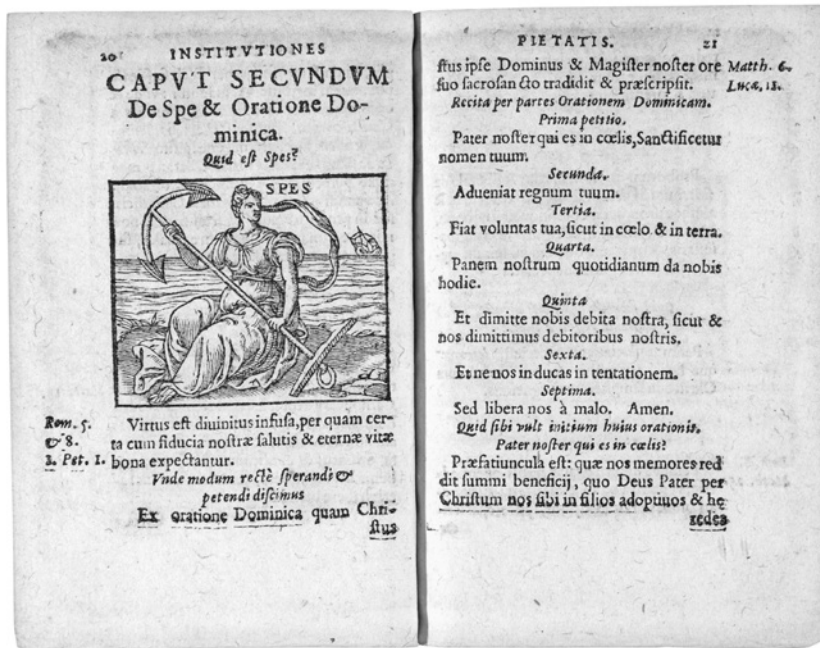


FIGURE 60 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 20–21. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

logic of the catechism. Catechumens of Martin Luther's catechisms came to the Lord's Prayer after learning the Ten Commandments and the Apostles' Creed.<sup>35</sup> His catechisms taught them to speak the prayer through what they had already learned from the Ten Commandments. In *The German Catechism*, he taught that the Lord's Prayer was encompassed in the Second Commandment—the Second Commandment was the portal for the Lord's Prayer:

We have now heard what we are to do and believe. The best and most blessed life consists of these things. Now follows the third part, how we are to pray. We are in such a situation that no one can keep the Ten Commandments perfectly, even though he or she has begun to believe.

...

35 On the teaching of the Lord's Prayer in the Wittenberg circle more generally, see Karl Aner, *Das Vaterunser in der Geschichte der evangelischen Frömmigkeit* (Tübingen, 1924), 3–27. On Evangelical teaching on prayer more generally, see Paul Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur* (Gütersloh, 1966 (1927)), ch. 1.

The first thing to know is this: It is our duty to pray because of God's command. For we heard in the Second Commandment, "You are not to take God's name in vain." Thereby we are required to praise the holy name and to pray or call upon it in every need. For calling upon it is nothing else than praying. Prayer, therefore, is as strictly and solemnly commanded as all the other commandments. . .

Luther, *The German Catechism*<sup>36</sup>

Catechumens of the Genevan Catechism came to the Lord's Prayer after learning the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, after 33 Sundays of catechesis (and 232 questions). Nor did they come immediately to the Lord's Prayer in the section of catechesis on prayer: catechumens first spent three Sundays (34–36) and 22 questions on prayer more generally. In both Luther's and Calvin's catechisms, the Lord's Prayer preceded the sacraments. Catechumens of the Heidelberg Catechism came to the Lord's Prayer last, at the very end of the process of catechesis:

Question 115. Why, then, does God have the Ten Commandments preached so strictly since no one can keep them in this life?

First, that all our life long we may become increasingly aware of our sinfulness, and therefore more eagerly seek forgiveness of sins and righteousness in Christ. Second, that we may constantly and diligently pray to God for the grace of the Holy Spirit, so that more and more we may be renewed in the image of God, until we attain the goal of full perfection after this life.

Question 116. Why is prayer necessary for Christians?

Because it is the chief part of the gratitude which God requires of us, and because God will give his grace and Holy Spirit only to those who sincerely beseech him in prayer without ceasing, and who thank him for these gifts.

...

Question 118. What has God commanded us to ask of him?

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36 Martin Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 440–41. In his *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Lord's Prayer*, Albrecht Peters' concern is Luther's teaching on the Lord's Prayer rather than Luther's catechisms' teaching on the Lord's Prayer. His reading, therefore, begins not with the catechism text itself, but with some fifteen other publications, as well as the catechetical sermons. *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Lord's Prayer*, trans. Daniel Thies (Saint Louis, 2011).

All things necessary for soul and body which Christ the Lord has included in the prayer which he himself taught us.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>37</sup>

### The Structure of the Lord's Prayer

Canisius's and Luther's catechisms and the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms divided the Lord's Prayer into discrete petitions; they differed as to places of division and number. As the catechumens learned the Lord's Prayer, they learned different cadences, different affiliations of words and clauses that

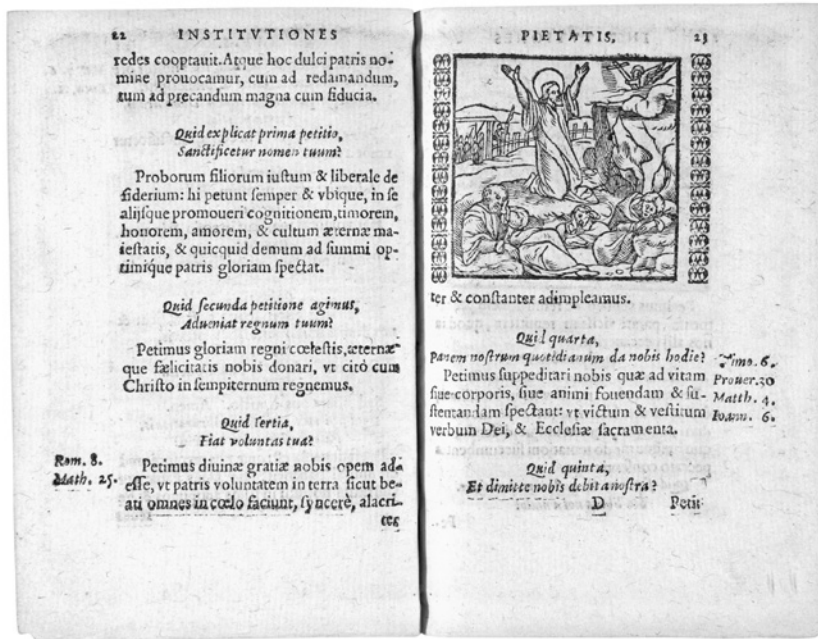


FIGURE 61 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 22–23. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

37 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, ed. Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, 1991), 161–62. These questions appear in the Latin, but not the German first edition of the Catechism. For one reading of the Heidelberg Catechism's teaching of the Lord's Prayer, see James I. Cook, "Prayer," in *Guilt, Grace and Gratitude: A Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism Commemorating Its 400th Anniversary*, ed. Donald J. Bruggink (New York, 1963), 209–26.

themselves then taught different “meaning”. When Canisius’s catechisms first introduced the Lord’s Prayer, they did not follow Augustine’s division of the Lord’s Prayer, which separated the first line as a form of address from seven petitions, but placed “our father” with the first request (Fig. 60).<sup>38</sup>

What is Hope?

It is a divinely infused virtue, through which we may expect in certain faith our salvation and eternal life.

What do we learn is the right mode of hoping and petitioning?

From the Lord’s Prayer, his same sacred prayer which Christ our Lord and Teacher passed on and prescribed.

The first petition.

Our father who is in heaven, sanctified be your name.

Second.

Your kingdom come.

Third.

Let your will be done, on earth as in heaven.

Fourth.

Give us today our daily bread.

Fifth.

And release us from our debts, just as we release our debtors.

Sixth.

And do not lead us into temptation.

Seventh.

But free us from evil. Amen.

Peter Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>39</sup>

When Canisius’s catechisms turned to teaching the parts of the Prayer (Figs. 60–61),<sup>40</sup> they restored Augustine’s notion of an address to God. Catechesis of the Lord’s Prayer preserved the liturgical rhythm. At the end of catechesis of the prayer, the catechisms provided a summary, dividing the prayer into four goods the person praying hopes for—God’s majesty, honor and glory, human happiness, obedience to God, and the necessary sustenance for body and soul—and three evils s/he seeks to avoid: that which precludes

38 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 20–21.

39 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 20–21.

40 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575).

us from the kingdom of God; temptations which, unless God protects against them, draw us into sin; and finally, calamities in the present and the future.<sup>41</sup>

Luther's catechisms, too, preserved the division of seven. As they had done with the Apostles' Creed, they provided the full text only in *The German Catechism*, in the Preface:

Our father you who are in heaven. Hallowed [Geheiliget] will your name be. Let your kingdom come to us [zukome]. Let your will occur [geschehe], as in heaven as also on earth. Our daily bread give us today. And release us from our debt/guilt [schuld], as we release our debtors [schuldigern]. And lead us not into temptation. But redeem us from evil [ubel].<sup>42</sup>

Luther divided the petitions by periods in the Preface. In the *Enchiridion*, he taught the prayer in eight parts: the address (Fig. 62),<sup>43</sup> and seven petitions. Those petitions were further divided in the *Enchiridion*, not explicitly, but in the presence, in the first three, of an additional question (Fig. 63): "How does this come about?" That question returned the catechumen to the omnipotence of God and distinguished those parts of the prayer from the last four requests, which concerned the life of the person praying. Like the medieval liturgical version, Luther's German translation of the Lord's Prayer followed the Matthean text. His German translation followed the medieval Latin closely, even as certain words, "sanctificetur", "fiat", did not have ready German equivalents. In *The German Catechism*, Luther took up the problem of "sanctificetur" when he turned to the first line of the Lord's Prayer:

"May your name be hallowed."

This is rather obscure and not idiomatic German. In our mother tongue we would say, "Heavenly Father, grant that your name alone may be holy." But what is it to pray that his name may become holy? Is it not already holy?<sup>44</sup>

41 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 25.

42 Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechismus // Mit einer neuen Vorrhe // de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1532), Vii-v, my translation. On the variations in Luther's German version of the Lord's Prayer, see Peters, *Commentary on Luther's Catechisms: Lord's Prayer*, 4–6.

43 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p.

44 Luther, "The Large Catechism (1529)," *The Book of Concord*, 445.





FIGURE 62 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

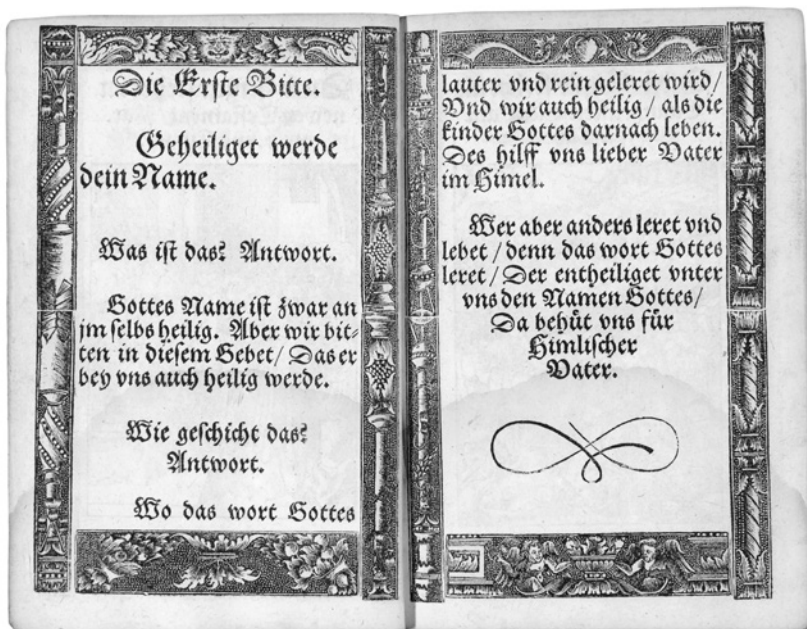


FIGURE 63 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

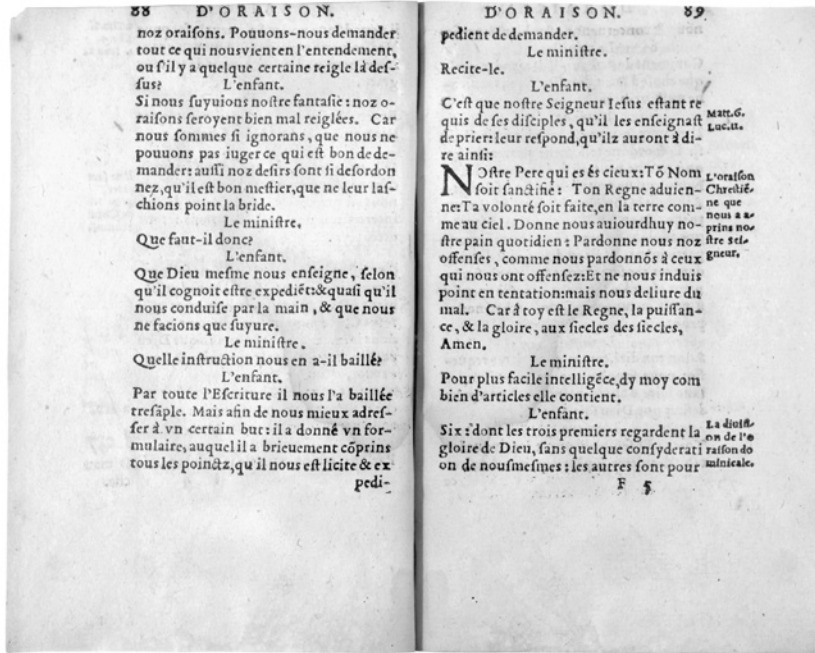


FIGURE 64 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 88–89. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

In his *German Catechism*, Luther addressed directly problems arising from translating the ancient Latin into another language, acknowledging a tension between the familiarity of the ancient words and how they might be understood in the community of living Christians.<sup>45</sup>

Catechumens of the Genevan Catechism recited the Lord's Prayer on the 37th Sunday. Following the questions on God's direction, in Scripture, on the proper substance of prayer, the Minister asked the catechumen to "recite it" (Fig. 64).<sup>46</sup>

45 The Convent of the Pater Noster has a website offering the Lord's Prayer in 1698 languages. One measure of the tension between familiarity and vibrancy is the changing text of the Lord's Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer.

46 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge,

## Child

It is what our Lord Jesus, in answering his disciples what he would have them pray, responded that they should say thus:

Our Father, who is in heaven; Sanctified be your name; Your kingdom come; Your will be done, on earth as in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; Pardon our offenses, as we pardon those who have offended us; And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For yours is the Kingdom, the power, and the glory, from century to century, Amen.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>47</sup>

In the edition of 1549, Calvin used punctuation to divide the prayer, printed as a single paragraph, into three sentences of both dependent and independent clauses.

## Minister.

To understand more easily, tell me how many articles it contains.

## Child.

Six, in which the first three regard the glory of God, without consideration of ourselves, the others are for us and concern our good and profit.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>48</sup>

The Genevan Catechism's catechesis of prayer differed from Canisius's catechisms, in which each part of the Lord's Prayer received a single question. Although Calvin's and Luther's catechisms shared the division of requests between those concerning God and those concerning humankind, the Genevan Catechism also differed from Luther's catechisms, in which the first three requests each received two questions, the last four, one question each.<sup>49</sup> The Genevan Catechism accorded the text of the Lord's Prayer 38 questions.

Both German and Latin editions of the Heidelberg Catechism distinguished the Lord's Prayer by the use of larger font (Fig. 59). The Latin separated clauses

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& l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549).

47 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 89. The modern edition arranges the text differently, "Le Catéchisme de l'Eglise de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 80.

48 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Eglise de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 80.

49 Angénieux, *Les différents types de structure du Pater*, 54–55.

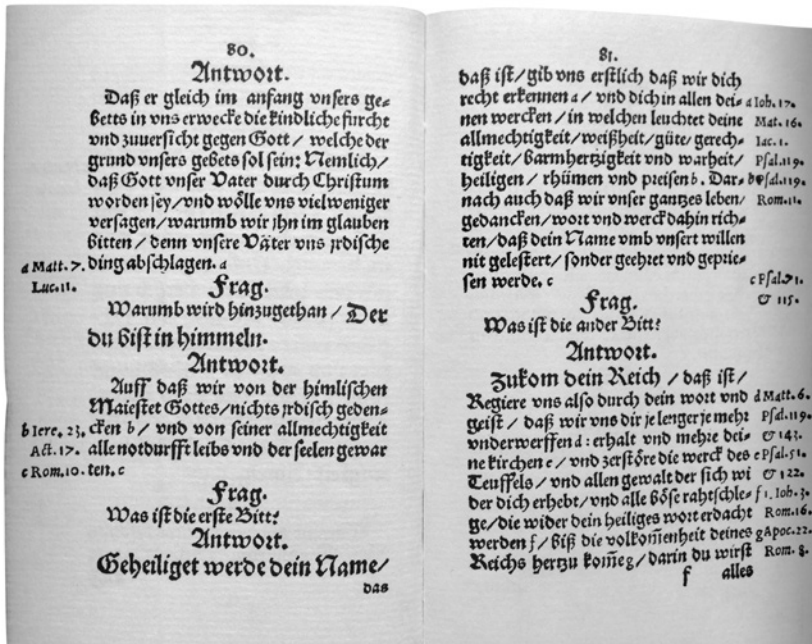


FIGURE 65 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Underricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 80–81.*

by colons; the German, by periods. As with Luther's *Enchiridion*, the Heidelberg Catechism taught the Prayer began with an address to God, which the Heidelberg Catechism separated into two parts (Fig. 65):<sup>50</sup> “Our Father”, and “Who is in heaven”. As with the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg then taught six petitions:

Hallowed [Geheiligt] be your name.  
 Your kingdom come [komme].  
 Your will happen [geschehe] on earth as in heaven.  
 Give us today our daily bread.  
 Forgive us our debt [schuld], as we forgive our debtors.  
 And lead us not into temptation; but release us from the evil one [vom boesen].

50 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Underricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563).*

As with the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg taught the Doxology:

For yours is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory in eternity, Amen.<sup>51</sup>

In the Heidelberg Catechism, it was the closing of the Prayer.

### Addressing God

What is meant by the beginning of this prayer, “Our Father who  
is in heaven”?

It is a little preface, which recalls us to the highest benefit, to which God the Father, adopting us as sons and heirs through Christ, elects us. And, in calling forth this name of the sweet father, in being loved we pray with greater faith.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>52</sup>

Canisius's catechisms separated the first words from the first request (Fig. 66).<sup>53</sup> In his *Little Catechism*, he concentrated on that one word, “Father”, attaching an intimate relationship of love and trust (*fiducia*) to it—as well as the quality of sweetness (*dulci*). So, too, the catechisms invoked the Christ of the Apostles' Creed, who redeemed the faithful, and made of them God's children.

Our Father, you who are in heaven.

What is this? Answer:

With these words God wants to entice us, so that we come to believe he is truly our Father and we are truly his children, in order that we may ask him boldly and with complete confidence, just as loving children ask their loving father.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>54</sup>

51 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterrichts // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 95–96, my translation.

52 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 21–22.

53 Petrus Canisius, PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM, in Petro de Soto, COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte instituendae ...// ACCESSIT IN HAC //editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum, auctore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564).

54 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 356.





FIGURE 66 Peter Canisius, *PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM*, in Petro de Soto, *COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI-// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsu[m] plebis Christianae // recte instituendae . . . // ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum, authore D. PE=//TRO CANISIO* (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564), 179<sup>v</sup>–180. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Like Canisius, Luther centered his explication of the opening on the word, “Father” (Fig. 62).<sup>55</sup> Like Canisius, he attached to the relationship connotations of love and trust. In the cadences of the catechism, Father, children, and love were repeated; in the cadences of the catechism, “we” marked those who spoke to God as “Father”.

The Genevan Catechism dedicated three questions to “Father”:

Minister.

Let us go to the exposition. And before entering any further, why is God called here “our Father” rather than otherwise?

55 More accurately, Canisius followed Luther chronologically, and his choice of wording may well reflect an effort to translate what was successful in Luther’s catechisms to Catholic use.



Child.

Especially because it is necessary that our consciences are firmly assured, when it is a question of praying, our God calls himself by a word that means nothing other than gentleness and graciousness, to remove from us all doubt and perplexity and make us bold to come privately to him.

Minister.

Do we then dare to turn familiarly to God, as a child to his father?

Child.

Yes, indeed with greater certitude of obtaining that which we may ask. For if we, who are evil, cannot refuse to our children bread and meat, when they ask it of us, how much less might our celestial Father, who is not only good, but is the sovereign goodness?

Minister.

By this same name, can we not prove well that which has already been said, that the prayer ought to be founded in the intercession of Jesus Christ?

Child.

Yes, certainly, for God avows us as his children in no other way than that we are members of his Son.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>56</sup>

The Genevan Catechism crafted a different understanding of “Father”: gentleness, kindness, goodness, a parent who cannot refuse a child. Foremost, the Catechism taught, the name was to assure, to give confidence, certitude, to the person praying. Coupled with that certainty was the Father who is such solely through his Son, who, the catechumen has already learned, is God’s only natural child. It also began building the particular relationship between the person praying and God: prayer “ought to be founded in the intercession of Jesus Christ”. Christ, as Redeemer, is the foundation, as well as the origin, of the Lord’s Prayer.

The Genevan Catechism asks one question of “Our”, after the discussion of “Father”:

Minister.

Why do you not call God your Father, but call him “our” in common?

Child.

Each faithful person may well call him his own, but in this form Jesus Christ teaches us to pray in common, to admonish us that we ought to

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<sup>56</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 81–2.

practice our charity towards our neighbors in praying, and not care solely about ourselves.<sup>57</sup>

Two questions pursue the remaining words of address:

Minister.

What is meant by the clause, “who is in heaven”?

Child.

It is as though I call him high, powerful, incomprehensible.

Minister.

Why that? And towards what end?

Child.

Towards this end, that when we invoke him, we apprehend that we raise our thoughts, in order to imagine nothing carnal of him, nor earthly, and that we do not measure him by our apprehension, nor subject him to our will, but adore in humility his glorious majesty, and also in order to have more certain faith in him, considering he is sovereign and master of all.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>58</sup>

The Genevan Catechism dwelt at length on the address to God, building on the sense of God articulated in the section on the Apostles' Creed—God is the Father to the faithful through the Son, Christ. Prior to its discussion of the Lord's Prayer itself, the Genevan Catechism had also reiterated the themes of human unworthiness and the need for absolute humility in approaching God.

The Heidelberg Catechism asked two questions on the address:

Question 120. Why has Christ commanded us to address God: “Our Father”?

That at the very beginning of our prayer he may awaken in us the child-like reverence and trust toward God which should be the motivation of our prayer, which is that God has become our Father through Christ and will much less deny us what we ask him in faith than our human fathers will refuse us earthly things.

The first echoed the image of the parent who cannot refuse the child from the Genevan Catechism, even as it also invoked the redemption that it had already

<sup>57</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 82.

<sup>58</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 82.

taught in its catechesis of the second part of the Apostles' Creed. The second question, like the Genevan Catechism, took up specifically God's location:

Question 121. Why is there added: "Who art in heaven"?

That we may have no earthly conception of the heavenly majesty of God, but that we may expect from his almighty power all things that are needed for body and soul.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>59</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism attached to the word, "heaven", connotations of God's immeasurability, the essential non-physicality of God's majesty.

### The First Petition

English translators have consistently chosen the word, "petition", for "petitio" in Latin, "Bitte" in German, and "requête" in French<sup>60</sup>—the German and French words themselves presumably translations of the Latin. As with all words, these are not equations.<sup>61</sup> The Latin carries valences the English does not—Jerome's translation of Psalm 19 rendered what is "prayer" in English as "petitio" in the Latin.<sup>62</sup> The German word for prayer is "Gebet": Luther's word choice, "Bitte", which he used consistently in catechisms in German, carries valences caught in the English word, "please", one of the many meanings of "Bitte", as well as request, wish, entreaty. Calvin's choice of "requête" again underlines a sense of coming to another without expectation of receipt. For both the German "Bitte" and the French "requête", a secondary meaning in English is "petition", but that, too, presumes identical legal systems. In English, "petition" carries valences of injustice, a grievance, connotations dissonant with how Luther

59 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 162–3.

60 Calvin used the term "demande" as well: John Calvin, LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 93.

61 For a wonderful reflection on translation, see Umberto Eco, *Experiences in Translation* (Toronto, 2001).

62 Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1975 (1879)), 1364.

and Calvin taught the Lord's Prayer. But it also posits a relationship of power—the one who petitions implicitly acknowledges the power of the person being petitioned to grant or deny—that corresponds directly to the relationship of the person praying to God that Evangelicals, in turn, taught in their catecheses of the Lord's Prayer.

As the following will make clear, catechisms taught different relationships between human beings and God in the separate parts of the Lord's Prayer. While each one took up the name, "Father", they did not attach the same resonances to the word. The differing relationships between the praying human being and God then shaped the *petitii*.

What does the first petition, Hallowed be your name, declare?

It shows the desire of just and good children, who pray always and everywhere that the knowledge, fear, honor, love, and worship of the eternal majesty advances in them, looking towards the highest and greatest glory of the Father.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>63</sup>

Canisius's catechisms offered a range of responses to the first petition of the Lord's Prayer. *The Little Catechism* invoked God's majesty (Fig. 66); the *Summa* focused upon honoring God. Both articulated a relationship between the person praying and God in which God strengthened the praying person's understanding of divine magnificence.

May your name be hallowed.

What is this? Answer:

It is true that God's name is holy in itself, but we ask in this prayer that it may also become holy in and among us.

How does this come about? Answer:

Whenever the Word of God is taught clearly and purely and we, as God's children, also live holy lives according to it. To this end help us, dear Father in heaven! However, whoever teaches and lives otherwise that the Word of God teaches profanes the name of God among us. Preserve us from this, heavenly Father!

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>64</sup>

63 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 22.

64 Martin Luther, "The Small Catechism," in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis,

Like *The German Catechism*, the *Enchiridion* took up the word, “sanctificetur” in the Latin and “geheiliget” in German (Fig. 63). In the German, the word echoed the preceding catechesis of the Holy Spirit in the chapter on the Apostles’ Creed. Thus, the first request became in Luther’s catechisms a consideration of the word, “holy”—now not an attribute but an agency. For the first three requests of the Lord’s Prayer, Luther added a second question to the usual, “Was ist das?”: “How does this happen?” [Wie geschicht das?] The second question at once echoed Luther’s choice of word in the line, “Your will be done [geschehe]”, and implied a particular conceptualization of prayer’s efficacy that emerged in his catechisms’ teaching of the requests. Speaking to God through the prayer in no way imposed upon God’s will, but in each request something did “happen”.

Minister.

Now discuss the first request.

Child.

The name of God is his renown, that by which he is celebrated among humankind. We desire thus that his glory be exalted by all and in all ways.

Minister.

Do you mean<sup>65</sup> that this could increase or diminish it [God’s glory]?

Child.

By no means. But it is to say that [God’s glory] is manifest as it ought to be, and in whatever way God so makes, such that all his works appear glorious as they are, just as he is glorified in all kinds.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>66</sup>

On the 39th Sunday, the Genevan Catechism turned to the first and second petitions (Fig. 67). The Catechism did not take up the word, “sanctifié” in the French, but returned to the motif of God’s glory. The second question reaffirmed the character of the relationship between the person praying and God that the first questions on prayer had outlined: human powerlessness and divine omnipotence. So, too, the purpose of prayer began to emerge: foremost, to honor God.<sup>67</sup>

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2000), 356. The translators use the word, “Petition”, which the note indicates: “*Bitte*, literally, ‘request’”.

65 “Entends-tu?” In teaching the Lord’s Prayer, the Genevan Catechism often uses this formulation, which encompasses intent, as in the English, do you mean to say?

66 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 82.

67 In the modern edition, questions 233–55, Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 75–80.

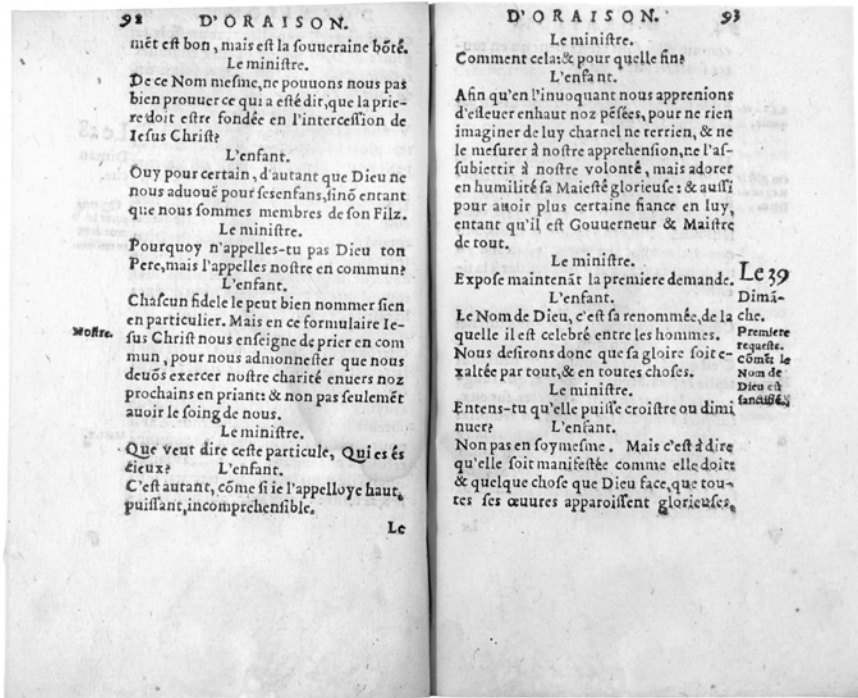


FIGURE 67 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 92–93. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Question 122. What is the first petition?

“Hallowed be thy name.” That is: help us first of all to know thee rightly, and to hallow, glorify, and praise thee in all thy works through which there shine thine almighty power, wisdom, goodness, righteousness, mercy, and truth. And so order our whole life in thought, word, and deed that thy name may never be blasphemed on our account, but may always be honored and praised.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>68</sup>

68 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 163.





FIGURE 68 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Like the Genevan Catechism, in its teaching on the first petition the Heidelberg Catechism emphasized the nature of God (Fig. 65). Like Luther's catechisms, it also, through the word, "blaspheme", connected the Lord's Prayer to the Second Commandment as Luther construed it, foremost the prohibition against taking God's name in vain. The Heidelberg Catechism underlined the potential efficacy of prayer, that it would "help us . . . to know . . . to hallow, glorify, and praise" God. Prayer was a request for help.

### The Second Petition

What do we do in the second petition,  
Your kingdom come?

We pray that the glory of the heavenly kingdom, which is eternal happiness, be given us, so that we may quickly reign with Christ forever.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>69</sup>

69 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 22.

Each of the catechisms treated “your kingdom come” as a discrete request; Canisius’s and Luther’s catechisms, and the Heidelberg Catechism treated it in a single question. Each defined “kingdom” differently. In Canisius’s catechisms, that kingdom was Christ’s, and its first attribute was glory. They taught not simply that Christ’s kingdom might be shared, but also that his rule itself might be: “regnemus”.

May your kingdom come.

What is this? Answer.

In fact, God’s kingdom comes on its own without our prayer, but we ask in this prayer that it may also come to us.

How does this come about? Answer.

Whenever our heavenly Father gives us his Holy Spirit, so that through his grace we believe his Holy Word and live godly lives here in time and hereafter in eternity.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>70</sup>

Luther’s catechisms taught a different understanding of “kingdom”: the sovereignty of the Word over human lives in the present and “in eternity” (Fig. 68). And “come” was one direction, from God to humankind: whenever God gives the Holy Spirit, moving human beings to “believe”.

Minister.

In the second request, what you do mean by “the kingdom of God”?

Child.

It consists principally in two points. He leads and governs his own through his Spirit; contrariwise, he obliterates and confounds the reprobate, who do not want to subject themselves to his dominion, towards the end that it becomes clear that there is no power which can resist his.

Minister.

How, do you pray, that this kingdom come?

Child.

It is that day by day the Lord multiplies the number of his faithful, that he augments day by day his grace over them, until such time as they are completely filled, that he makes his truth clearer and clearer, that he shows his justice, in which Satan and the shadows of his kingdom are confounded, and that all iniquity be destroyed and abolished.

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70 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 356–57.

Minister.

Is this not done here and now?

Child.

Yes, it is, in part. But we desire that it increases and advances until it comes finally to its perfection, which will be on the day of judgment, when God alone will be exalted, and all his creatures will be humbled beneath his grandeur; just as it will be in all things.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>71</sup>

In Geneva, children learned the first and second requests together on one day, the 39th Sunday. The kingdom of God was temporally as well as spatially immediate to God's name. The "kingdom" was, again, distinctive. As in Luther's catechisms, the Genevan taught the kingdom comprises those governed by God. It also taught, however, that God's kingdom comprises those who resist that government. The Genevan Catechism makes explicit the division of humankind between those who are God's and the reprobate, but God's sovereignty is both universal and absolute. That kingdom, moreover, is not perfect in this world, but grows—a new concept—over time, to reach its perfection only at the end of time. At that point, the "kingdom" will be complete: all things will be not simply governed, but humble.

Question 123. What is the second petition?

"Thy kingdom come." That is: so govern us by thy Word and Spirit that we may more and more submit ourselves unto thee. Uphold and increase thy church. Destroy the works of the devil, every power that raises itself against thee, and all wicked schemes thought up against thy holy Word, until the full coming of thy kingdom in which thou shalt be all in all.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>72</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism posited a kingdom in which both God's Spirit and God's Word governed, which increased over time, in which the devil is destroyed, and which will in the future achieve completeness, "all in all".

71 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 82–3.

72 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 163.

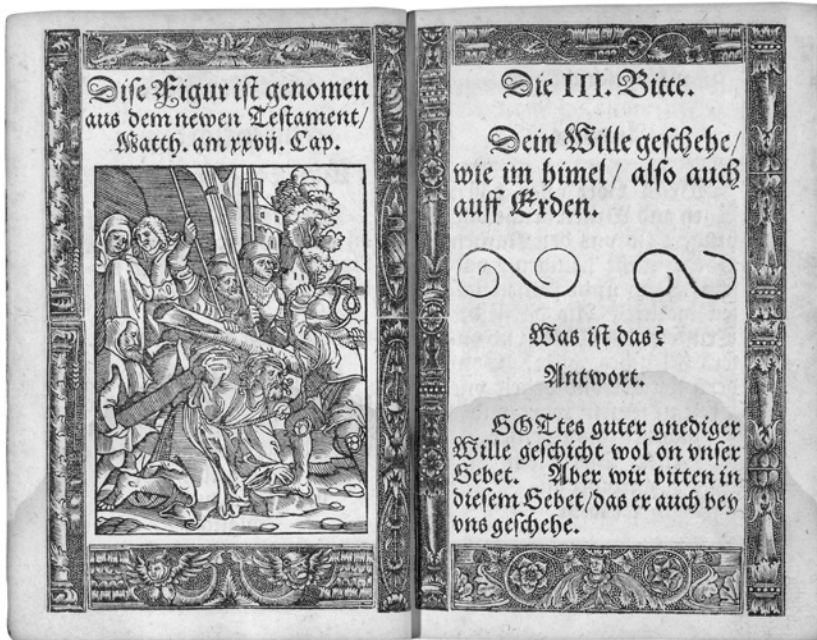


FIGURE 69 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### The Third Petition

What is the third,  
Let your will be done?  
We pray that the work of divine grace be with us, that we may sincerely,  
quickly, and constantly fulfill the will of the Father on earth just as the all  
saints do in heaven.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>73</sup>

Again, Canisius's catechisms taught a particular blend of divine and human agency: grace that human beings fulfill the will of God (Fig. 61). And to the petition, that God's will be done, his catechisms connected the saints as models of that obedience.

73 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 22–3.

May your will come about on earth as in heaven.

What is this? Answer:

In fact, God's good and gracious will comes about without our prayer, but we ask in this prayer that it may also come about in and among us.

How does this come about? Answer:

Whenever God breaks and hinders every evil scheme and will—as are present in the will of the devil, the world, and our flesh—that would not allow us to hallow God's name and would prevent the coming of his kingdom, and instead whenever God strengthens us and keeps us steadfast in his Word and in faith until the end of our lives. This is his gracious and good will.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>74</sup>

Luther's catechisms affirmed divine omnipotence and human powerlessness in their teaching of the third petition of the Lord's Prayer (Fig. 69). In its repetition, and in the answers in response to it, the second question built a sense of prayer's efficacy. It is a mnemonic of God's agency, a method of orienting the person praying. God's will "comes about without our prayer", but the person praying looks toward it to strengthen faith and obedience.

The Genevan Catechism posed four questions on the third request, on the 40th Sunday of catechesis:

Minister.

Why do you ask that the will of God be done?

Child.

That all creatures be subject to him to render him obedience and also that all be done according to his pleasure.

Minister.

Do you mean that nothing could be done against his will?

Child.

We request not only that he carries all to that point which he has determined in his counsel, but that all rebellion is overthrown, that he arranges all wills according to his own.

Minister.

In doing that, do we not renounce our own wills?

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74 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 357.

Child.

Yes indeed, and not only that he reverse those of our desires that contravene his pleasure, rendering them void and without effect, but also that he create in us new spirits and new hearts, such that we want nothing of ourselves, but that his Spirit enlivens us to make us openly in accord with him.

Minister.

Why do you add “on earth as in heaven”?

Child.

Because his celestial creatures, which are his angels, seek nothing other than to please him, without any contrariety, we desire that he does the same on the earth, that is, that all men place themselves willingly in obedience to him.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>75</sup>

The Genevan Catechism taught yet again a different understanding of the petition. It did not define God’s will, but concentrated on human wills. Those wills, moreover, came more and more under divine will as they became self-less and obedient, those two attributes, the Catechism implied, being inseparable.

Question 124. What is the third petition?

“Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.” That is: grant that we and all men may renounce our own will and obey thy will, which alone is good, without grumbling, so that everyone may carry out his office and calling as willingly and faithfully as the angels in heaven.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>76</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism reiterated the verb, “renounce”, there in the Genevan Catechism, echoing the antithesis between divine and human wills the Genevan Catechism taught, as well as the ideal of angelic volition and the goal of absolute human obedience to divine will. It also taught that obedience to God’s will had as its consequence, “that everyone may carry out his office and calling”. Each person’s office and calling was, when faithfully executed, a part of divine will.

<sup>75</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 83–4.

<sup>76</sup> “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 163.



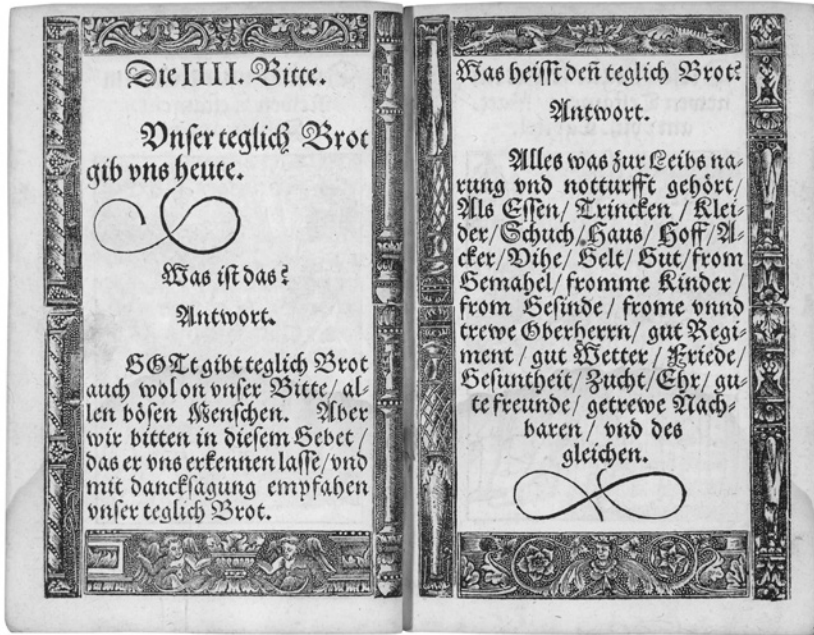


FIGURE 70 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### The Fourth Petition

What is the fourth,

Give us today our daily bread?

We pray to have supplied to us all that keeps alive either body or soul, such food and clothes as the Word of God and the sacraments of the Church.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>77</sup>

Canisius's catechisms taught that "daily bread" was food that nourished souls as well as bodies. The word, "bread", encompassed the Word of God and the sacraments—as it had come to do within the liturgy. This distinguished the "bread" of Canisius's catechisms from Evangelical catechisms.

77 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 23.

Give us today our daily bread.

What is this? Answer:

In fact, God gives daily bread without our prayer, even to all evil people, but we ask in this prayer that God cause us to recognize what our daily bread is and to receive it with thanksgiving.

What then does “daily bread” mean? Answer:

Everything included in the necessities and nourishment for our bodies, such as food, drink, clothing, shoes, house, farm, fields, livestock, money, property, an upright spouse, upright children, upright members of the household, upright and faithful rulers, good government, good weather, peace, health, decency, honor, good friends, faithful neighbors, and the like.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>78</sup>

Luther’s catechisms asked specifically the meaning of that one phrase, “daily bread” (Fig. 70). They articulated an unusually detailed—for the *Enchiridion*—list of connotations, which were the “daily” of peasants and citizens: the laity. “Bread”, the catechumen learned, encompassed “everything included in the necessities and nourishment of our bodies”. The catechisms did not affiliate “bread” with spirit at all, nor with the bread of the Eucharist.

On the 41st Sunday, the catechumen of the Genevan Catechism came to “the second part” of the Lord’s Prayer (Fig. 71), which concerned human needs. The fourth request, treated in five questions, was the subject of the entire day’s lesson.

Minister.

We come to the second part. What do you mean by the daily bread which you ask for?

Child.

Generally, everything that our body needs, not only what nourishes and clothes, but all that God knows to be expedient for us so that we can eat our bread in peace.

Minister.

Why do you ask God to give you nourishment, when he has commanded us to earn it with the work of our hands?

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78 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 357.

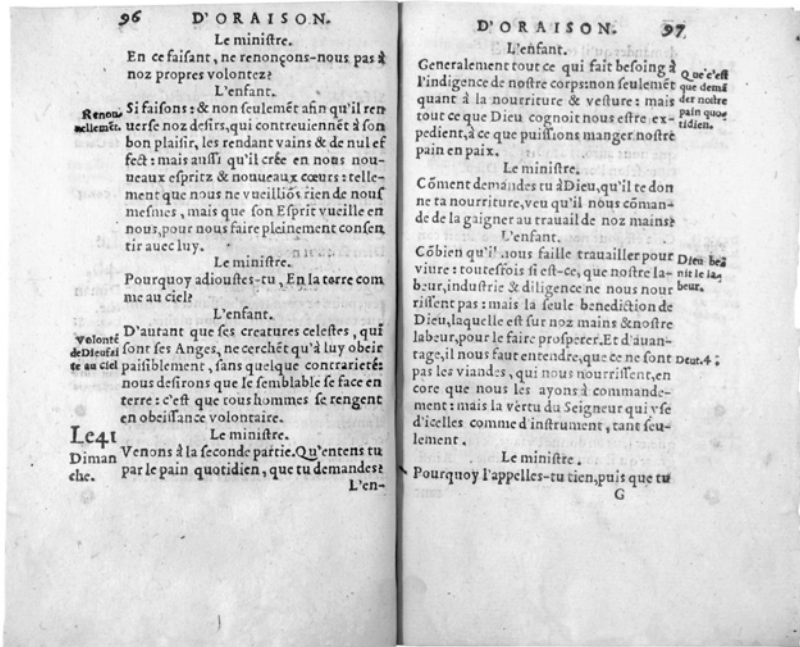


FIGURE 71 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 96–97. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Child.

As much as we must work in order to live, it is not as though our labor, industry, and diligence ever nourish us, but solely the benediction of God, which is on our hands and our labor to make it prosper. And moreover, he does not mean by that the food which nourishes us, notwithstanding that we have been commanded, but the virtue of the Lord who uses them solely as an instrument.

Minister.

Why do you call it yours, since you ask that it be given to you?

Child.

It is by the bounty of God that it is made ours, again though he need not give it to us. And also by this we are prevented from wanting the bread of others, and only that which we have acquired through legitimate means, following the ordinance of God.

Minister.

Why do you say “daily” and “today”?

Child.

That is for us to understand ourselves to be content and not hunger for more than our necessity requires.

Minister.

Seeng that this prayer is communal for all, why do the rich, who have provision and an abundance of goods for the duration, ask for one day?

Child.

Whether rich or poor, it is not meant that they profit from whatever goods they have, insofar as the Lord has given them the usage and made by his grace what is profitable to us. Put another way, we have nothing, if God has not given it to us.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>79</sup>

As in Luther’s catechisms, in teaching the fourth request the Genevan Catechism emphasized human dependency. Analogously, it taught that “bread” was mundane, connected to the labor of hands commanded in Genesis at the Fall. The Genevan Catechism taught as well to hear the temporal in the words, “today” and “daily”. Distinctive was the teaching against desiring the bread of others, the invocation of the divine ordering of goods and necessities.

Question 125. What is the fourth petition?

“Give us this day our daily bread.” That is: be pleased to provide for all our bodily needs so that thereby we may acknowledge that thou are the only source of all that is good, and that without thy blessing neither our care and labor nor thy gifts can do us any good. Therefore, may we withdraw our trust from all creatures and place it in thee alone.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>80</sup>

As in Luther’s catechisms and the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism taught the catechumen to understand “daily” as mundane, quotidian. Like them, it underlined God’s beneficence—“the only source of all that is good”. And in Question 125 of a total of 129, it taught the catechumen to “withdraw our trust from all creatures and place it in thee alone”. In the Heidelberg Catechism, “daily bread” looked beyond catechesis to the catechized life.

79 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 84–5.

80 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 163.

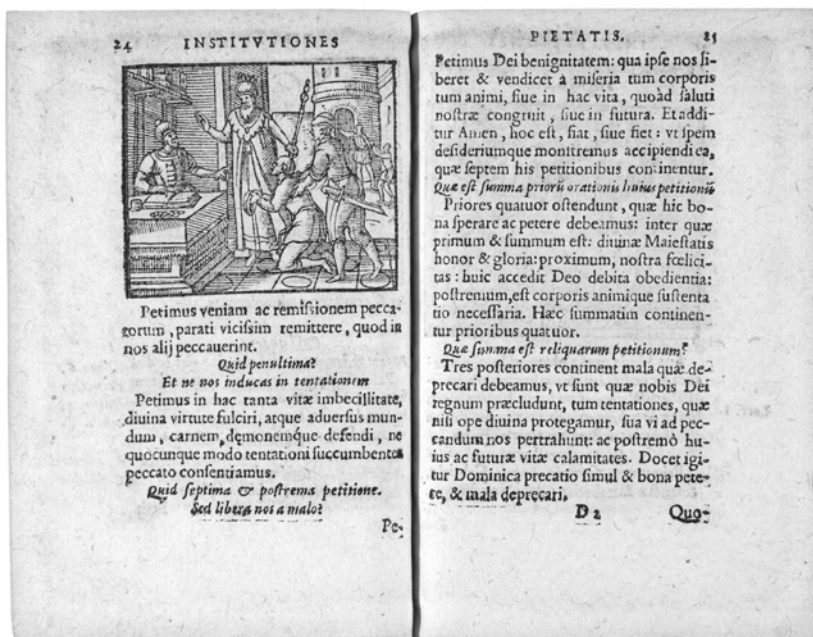


FIGURE 72 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 24–25. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### The Fifth Petition

What is the fifth petition,  
And release us from our debts?

We pray for the pardon and remission of sins, being prepared in turn to release whatever others have sinned against us.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>81</sup>

Canisius's catechisms preserved the technical term, remission of sins, at the very center of the sacrament of penance (Fig. 72). They preserved as well the ancient notion of debts in the wording of the Lord's Prayer and taught the catechumen to equate debt and sin, debita and peccatorum.

81 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 23–24.





FIGURE 73 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

And remit our debts, as we remit what our debtors owe.

What is this? Answer:

We ask in this prayer that our heavenly Father would not regard our sins nor deny these petitions on their account, for we are worthy of nothing for which we ask, nor have we earned it. Instead we ask that God would give us all things by grace, for we daily sin much and indeed deserve only punishment. So, on the other hand, we, too, truly want to forgive heartily and to do good gladly to those who sin against us.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>82</sup>

In teaching the fifth request, Luther's catechisms used the German word, "Schulde," which can mean "guilt," as well as "debt."<sup>83</sup> Like Canisius's catechisms, they taught the catechumen to connect "sins" to the word, but they did not speak of remission of sins or the forgiveness of sins. There are too many: "for we daily sin much". Luther's catechisms posited a different relationship

82 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 358.

83 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p.



between the person praying and God. In Luther's catechisms, essential human unworthiness could make no claims for divine forgiveness; the prayer was not a request in the same way as Canisius's catechisms taught—the prayer was an acknowledgement that “we are worthy of nothing for which we ask, nor have we earned it”. The person praying asks for grace—that which God gives freely, without constraint upon his will.

The entire lesson of the 42nd Sunday in the Genevan Catechism was given to the fifth request, which was taught in six questions.

Minister.

What is contained in the fifth request?

Child.

That it is pleasing to God to pardon our sins.

Minister.

Is there a man living so just that he does not need to make it?

Child.

No. For the Lord Jesus has given this form to his apostles for his Church. Thus, anyone who would exempt himself renounces the community of Christians. And in fact, Scripture testifies to us that the more perfect, wanting to plead a point to God to justify himself, would be found culpable of a thousand. It is for this reason that we have all our refuge in his mercy.

Minister.

How do you mean that this remission of ours is done?

Child.

As the very [spoken] words [paroles] which Jesus Christ had used to show, it is that the sins are debts, having which we are obligated to condemnation to eternal death. We ask that God acquit us by his pure liberality.

Minister.

Do you mean with this that we obtain remission of our sins through the free bounty of God?

Child.

In truth. For we are not able to make any satisfaction whatsoever for a minor fault which we have committed, if God did not out of the practice of his pure liberality, forgive us all.

Minister.

When God has pardoned our sins, what fruit and utility comes to us of it?

Child.

By this means, we are made pleasing to him, as if we had become just and innocent, and our consciences are assured of his paternal love [dilection] towards us, from which comes salvation and life.

Minister.

When you ask that he pardon us as we pardon those who have offended us, do you mean that in pardoning other men, we merit pardon from him?

Child.

By no means. For the pardon would no longer be free, and it would no longer be founded in the satisfaction, which had been in the death of Jesus Christ, as it ought to be. But in forgetting the injuries done to us, we follow his gentleness and his clemency, and as we demonstrate ourselves to be his children, he gives us this sign to certify us. And of the other part, he signifies to us that he will not fail to attend with complete severity and extreme rigor, if we are not quick to pardon and offer grace to those who are culpable in relation to us, in his judgment of us.

Minister.

You mean then that God disavows as his children those who cannot forget the offences done to them, such that they cannot look to be participants of this grace?

Child.

In truth. And that all should know that by the same measure as they do towards their neighbors will be done to them.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>84</sup>

The Genevan Catechism accorded the fifth request more questions than any of the preceding four. The French reinforces a sense of “debt”: human sins are debts, God acquits those debts. The Latin simply uses “sins” in the formulation: “Vt peccata nobis ignoscat Dominus.”<sup>85</sup> The Genevan Catechism attached to the request both a consideration of human sinfulness and of Jesus’s second command, to love one’s neighbor as oneself. So, too, the Genevan Catechism introduced the notion of forgetting offences—not simply forgiving them—and held as the model of neighborly relations Christ’s satisfaction of human sin.

Question 126. What is the fifth petition?

“And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.” That is: be pleased, for the sake of Christ’s blood, not to charge to us, miserable sinners, our many transgressions, nor the evil which still clings to us. We

84 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 85–7.

85 John Calvin, CATECHISMVS // Ecclesiæ Geneuësis, // HOC EST, FORMVLA //erudiendi pueros in doctrina Christi (Geneva, 1550), 93.

also find this witness of thy grace in us, that it is our sincere intention heartily to forgive our neighbor.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>86</sup>

The Heidelberg Catechism taught again a different understanding of the fifth request. Its wording invoked one of the leitmotifs of the entire catechism: misery. Like Luther's catechisms and the Genevan Catechism, it cast the person praying as a sinner of "many transgressions", to whom evil "still clings". But human unworthiness was not its message—an "*intention* heartily to forgive" was evidence of the presence of divine grace.

### The Sixth Petition

What is the penultimate

And lead us not into temptation?

We pray in this feeble life to be supported by divine virtue, and also defended against the world, flesh, and demons, neither succumbing to any manner of temptation nor consenting to sin.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>87</sup>

In Canisius's catechisms, human life is feeble, divine virtue supports the person praying. Prayer seeks help: support and defense. Temptation and sin are parallel, but not necessarily identical.

And lead us not into temptation.

What is this? Answer:

It is true that God tempts no one, but we ask in this prayer that God would preserve and keep us, so that the devil, the world, and our flesh may not deceive us or mislead us into false belief, despair, and other great shame and vice, and that, although we may be attacked by them [angefochten], we may finally prevail and gain the victory.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>88</sup>

86 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 164.

87 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 24.

88 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 358.

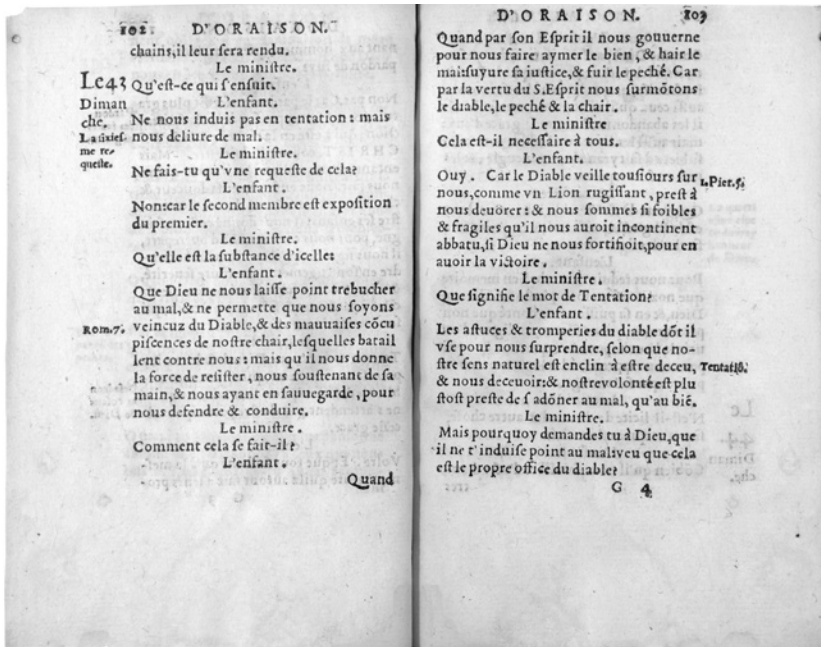


FIGURE 74 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Jean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 102–103. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

In their catechesis of the Lord's Prayer, Luther's catechisms taught that the origin of sin was not God, but "the devil, the world, and our flesh". They attached to "temptation" not simply "false belief" "and other great shame and vice", but also "despair", which joins the others. This request became, in the teaching of Luther's catechisms, for God to "preserve and keep" the person praying from temptations psychological as well as physical, of the mind as well as of the flesh.

The Genevan Catechism did not divide the Lord's Prayer in the same way as Canisius's and Luther's catechisms (Fig. 74). What they taught as two separate requests it taught, on one day, the 43rd Sunday, as a single request:

Minister.

What is it that follows this?

Child.

"Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil".

Minister.

Do you not make one request of this?

Child.

No, for the second member is exposition of the first.

Minister.

What is the substance of this?

Child.

That God does not let us fall into evil and does not permit us to be conquered by the devil and the wickedness of concupiscence of our flesh, which battle against us, but that he gives us the power to resist, sustaining us with his hand and keeping us in his safeguard in order to defend and lead us.

Minister.

How is this done?

Child.

When through his Spirit he governs us causing us to love the good and hate evil, to pursue his justice and flee from sin. For by the virtue of the Holy Spirit, we overcome the devil, sin, and the flesh.

Minister.

Is this necessary to all?

Child.

Yes. For the devil watches all the time for us, like a roaring lion, ready to devour us, and we are so weak and fragile that we could not fight him if God did not fortify us to be victorious.

Minister.

What does the word, "temptation," signify?

Child.

The wiles and trumperies of the devil which he uses to surprise us, because our natural sense is inclined to be deceived, and to deceive ourselves, and our will is far more ready to give itself up to evil than to good.

Minister.

But why do you ask God to lead not you towards evil, considering that this is the office proper to the devil?

Child.

As God, by his mercy, preserves his faithful, and does not permit the devil to seduce them, nor sins overcome them, so, too, those whom he will punish, not only does he abandon them and withdraw his grace from

them, but also leaves them to the devil to be subjects to his tyranny, blinding them and sending them in the sense of reprobate.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>89</sup>

In the Genevan Catechism, “evil” was the exposition of “temptation”. God protects the faithful from temptation, and abandons the reprobate to evil—in its catechesis of the Lord’s Prayer, the Genevan Catechism taught an insistent division of humankind between the faithful, whom God does not let fall, and the reprobate, whom he does. So, too, the Catechism taught a torque between God’s preservation of the faithful and the constancy of the devil’s watching for human beings, whose “natural sense is inclined to be deceived”.

Question 127. What is the sixth petition?

“And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.” That is: since we are so weak that we cannot stand by ourselves for one moment, and besides, since our sworn enemies, the devil, the world, and our own sin, ceaselessly assail us, be pleased to preserve and strengthen us through the power of thy Holy Spirit so that we may stand firm against them, and not be defeated in this spiritual warfare, until at last we obtain complete victory.

*The Heidelberg Catechism*<sup>90</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism taught as one request what both Luther and Canisius treated as two. So, too, it treated evil as temptation. So, too, the devil and the world were both named as sources of evil. The Heidelberg Catechism brought forward the metaphor of battle, the constancy of assault, the constancy of violence, which it contrasted with the support the Holy Spirit gave to “stand firm against them, and not be defeated in this spiritual warfare, until at last we obtain complete victory”.

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89 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 87–8.

90 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 164.



### The Seventh Petition

Canisius's catechisms followed Augustine's separation of leading not and delivering from:

What is the seventh and last request,  
But free us from evil?

We pray to the goodness of God, that He himself free us and claim us from misery, body and soul, whether in this life, what is congruent with our salvation, or in the future. And Amen is added, that is, let it be so, or it shall be so, that we show the hope and desire to receive those which are contained in the seven requests.

Canisius, *The Little Catechism*<sup>91</sup>

They preserved the ancient Latin wording. That wording deviates from the familiar modern English, perhaps most significantly in the choice of "deliver" in the last line. The Latin word, *libera*, free, echoes manumission and slavery, thus casting a different relationship between the person praying and evil. So, too, the words Canisius's catechisms taught the catechumen to explicate the request carried connotations of the legal change of a person's state, "*libera*", then "*vendicet*", laying a kind of legal claim. The catechisms also treated "Amen" with the last request, teaching the catechumen to associate hope and desire with it, a word that occurred at the end of prayers and the liturgy.

In Canisius's catechisms, catechesis of the Lord's Prayer was followed immediately by catechesis of the Ave Maria, what the catechisms called the Angelic Greeting (Fig. 75). Three questions established its source, the angel Gabriel; its effect—the comforting remembrance of Mary and the Incarnation, as well as an admonition to seek her intercession—and its lesson: her virtues, virgin and mother, and her blessedness as mother of "the king of kings, Christ our God and Lord", for which reason, she is "the inventor of grace as well as the mother of our life".<sup>92</sup> In Canisius's catechisms, the Lord's Prayer was not the only prayer a Christian knew; "Catholic" Christians were also to know words that Evangelicals did not accept as prayer.<sup>93</sup>

91 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 24–25.

92 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 26–7.

93 "During the Reformation, Luther did not abandon the rosary, though he shortened the Ave Maria to this form: 'Hail Mary full of grace. The Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou and the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.' In this way he eliminated the plea for Mary to pray for the



FIGURE 75 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 26–27. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

But deliver us from evil.

What is this? Answer:

We ask in this prayer, as in a summary, that our Father in heaven may deliver us from all kinds of evil—affecting body or soul, property or reputation—and at last, when our final hour comes, may grant us a blessed end and take us by grace from this valley of tears to himself in heaven. Amen.

What is this? Answer:

That I should be certain that such petitions are acceptable to and heard by our Father in heaven, for he himself commanded us to pray like this and has promised to hear us. Amen, amen” means “Yes, yes, it is going to come about just like this.”

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>94</sup>

supplicant. He advised his followers to use the rosary as an aid to meditation”. Nan Lewis Doerr and Virginia Stem Owens, *Praying with Beads: Daily Prayers for the Christian Year* (Grand Rapids, 2007), viii–ix.

94 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 358.

Luther's catechisms use the German word, "erlöß". Luther used this same verb to name what Christ's sacrificial death did for humankind: "redeem". Alone among the catechisms, Luther included property and reputation or honor, "ehre", as something to which evil could be done. In linking temptation and evil, both the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms taught the catechumen to conceive of "evil" as psychological or spiritual, a sin, which might come from "the flesh", but involved mind and soul. Luther's catechisms separated "temptation" from "evil", and construed "evil" as something that could be done to property, to things outside the human body, and "ehre", a word that named a complex social interaction.

Luther's catechisms treated "Amen" under the rubric of the seventh request, but as a separate question. They taught the catechumen to associate with that ancient word, the emphatic affirmation: "Yes, yes, it is going to come about just like this". Not hope or desire, but trust in the promise that the catechism attached to the prayer, which Christ "commanded us to pray".

### The Doxology

Canisius's and Luther's catechisms did not include the doxology in their teaching of the Lord's Prayer. The Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms did:

Minister.

What does this addition mean to say: "for yours is the kingdom, the glory, and the power, from centuries to centuries"?

Child.

To encapsulate in our memory once again that our prayers have their foundation in God and his power and goodness rather than in us, who are not worthy [dignes] to open our mouths to request it. And also for us to learn to close all our prayers by praising him.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>95</sup>

The Genevan Catechism did not take up the word, "Amen", did not teach the catechumen to attach hope or expectation—or any other connotations—to it. Its discussion of the Lord's Prayer ended with this emphasis upon the

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95 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 88.

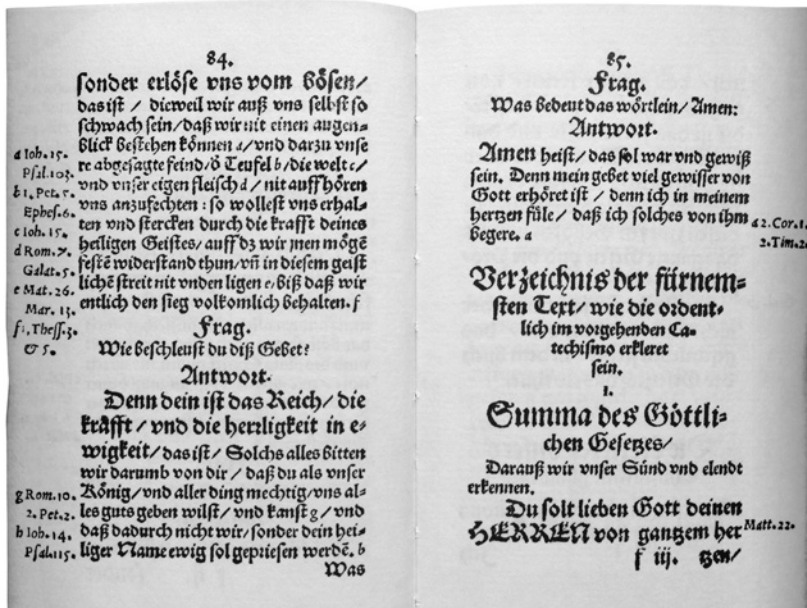


FIGURE 76 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterrichts // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt.* (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 84–85.

origin and the orientation of all prayer, God, and with the explicit designation of the Lord's Prayer as the sole model for prayer, "la règle unique de bien prier". In the organization of the Genevan Catechism, the Lord's Prayer was the only body of words offered for the catechumen to learn to pray, under the heading, "D'Oraison", "De Oratione", "On Prayer". The doxology was included in that model, though it is not to be found in either the Matthean or the Lucan versions, because, the Genevan Catechism taught the catechumen, it served as mnemonic, to remind the person praying of the divine origin of the one prayer God gave humankind to speak to him.

Question 128. How do you close this prayer?

"For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever." That is: we ask all this of thee because, as our King, thou art willing and able to give us all that is good since thou has power over all things, and that by this not we ourselves but thy holy name may be glorified forever.

Question 129. What is the meaning of the little word "Amen"?

Amen means: this shall truly and certainly be. For my prayer is much more certainly heard by God than I am persuaded in my heart that I desire such things from him.

The Heidelberg Catechism<sup>96</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism taught the doxology as a part of the Lord's Prayer; like the Genevan Catechism, it taught the doxology as encapsulating divine omnipotence and the proper orientation of the person praying towards God (Fig. 76). In the last clause of Question 128, it echoed the first request of the Lord's Prayer, the hallowing of God's name. The Heidelberg Catechism closed with Question 129. It closed with prayer and with the certainty, that God hears the prayer, more certainly than the person praying actually desires the specific requests just taught.

### Conclusion

Sixteenth-century catechisms taught distinctive understandings of the words of the Lord's Prayer: "Father", "heaven", "hallowed", "name", "will", "bread", "debts", "temptation", "evil", "amen". In teaching them, they articulated distinctive understandings of prayer—of the relationships between words and effects and between words and desire, and of the relationship between God and the person praying. Canisius's catechisms taught only two prayers in the section, Hope, but the addition of the Ave Maria allowed for prayers Christ had not set, and for prayers addressed to others than God. The person praying might seek help, intercession, or strength, from God, Christ, Mary, or the saints; in each case, prayer sought increase, not the addition of other qualities. While Catholic and Evangelical catechisms alike taught the Lord's Prayer as the words Christ had taught his disciples to speak in prayer, for Evangelicals those words existed in a different relationship to the person praying. For Luther they were encompassed in the Second Commandment—the precise words Christ had given human beings to speak to God. For Calvin, these words were better than any that a human being might imagine—human imagination, like human will, did not know either what human beings truly need or the words appropriate to speak to God. In the catechesis of the Heidelberg Catechism, prayer came last, as that which the catechized now knew in obedience to speak. Evangelical

96 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 164; CATECHE-/SIS RELIGIONIS // CHRISTIANAE, QVAE TRA//DIVR IN ECCLESIIIS ET // SCHOLIS PALA-/TINATVS (Heidelberg: Michael Schirat and Johannes Mayer, 1563), 56.

catechisms taught the Lord's Prayer as an acknowledgment of human worthlessness and divine omnipotence. In speaking the words of the Lord's Prayer, the praying human being was heard not because Christ was speaking for him or her, but because he or she was speaking the words Christ had given—the human being praying remained fallen, a nature apart from Christ. God listened, because the words were those he had himself given humankind to speak to him.

For all, the words could be spoken either alone, in direct petition to God, or collectively. For all, the words were at once spoken by a solitary Christian and spoken in express consciousness of belonging to God's children. For Catholics and Lutherans, the words continued to belong as well to the formal liturgy of the Eucharist, though only Catholics learned to hear in the word, "bread", Word and sacrament.





FIGURE 77 *Rogier van der Weyden, Altar of the Seven Sacraments, painted before 1450. Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Erich Lessing/ Art Resource, NY.*

## Sacraments

Rogier van der Weyden's *Altar of the Seven Sacraments* (Fig. 77) is an artifact of the world Reformation dismantled and, in so many places, sought actively to erase. It is also an eloquent, but by no means exhaustive, witness to all that sacraments had become by the sixteenth century: the gestures of kneeling, blessing, and elevation; the font and the altar; the paten and chalice, pyx and cruet; the water, wine, host, and oil; the witnesses and godparents; the priest and the recipient. And for those who had received or witnessed, the painting might call to mind the sounds—words whispered, chanted, sung, or spoken, bells—and the scents. The image itself participated variously in the sacraments, most fully in the sacrament of Communion or the Eucharist:<sup>1</sup> it stood on an altar, the site on which and before which the priest celebrated the Mass and within the Mass, the sacrament of Communion. It helps us to imagine that world, and in so doing, to confront more thoughtfully the question, how can a codex “teach” “the sacraments”, as the section in so many catechisms was labelled?

Unlike the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, or the Apostles' Creed, there was no long-standing text, no fixed set of words on a page, that could be easily taught. There were missals and breviaries and antiphonies, but these were texts to help the clergy speak the words themselves, so complex had the sacraments become. The word ‘complex’ is itself one of those markers of the Reformation: in the polemics of a John Calvin, it was pejorative, just as the visual complexity of images like the Van der Weyden was, for him and for many, a celebration of human imagination, not divine revelation. But in this chapter, ‘complex’ is a kind of shorthand, to invoke, without listing each time, the somatic—aural, visual, tactile, and gestural—richness of the sacraments by the end of the fifteenth century. Here it is taken as the expression of the centuries-old desire to worship God and the intense, close, and protean

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1 In the Reformation, European Christians called the sacrament grounded in the Last Supper by different names—Communion, the Lord's Supper, the Supper, the Sacrament of the Altar. Lutherans tended to call it the Lord's Supper, Reformed Christians, the Supper [la Cene, das Avondmaal], and Catholics continued to speak of the sacrament of Communion, as well as the Sacrament of the Altar. When referring generally to the sacrament, this chapter will use the term, “the Eucharist”; when referring to the sacrament as defined by a specific tradition, it will use that tradition's preferred term.

consideration of the Incarnation and its implications for Christian life and Christian worship.

Among its many visualizations, the Van der Weyden offers one image of the relationship between the sacraments and the Incarnation. In the Lenten sermon on the article of Apostles' Creed, "the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins", Thomas Aquinas offered another formulation of that relationship:

Just as in the physical body the operation of one member redounds to the good of the whole body, so it works in a spiritual body, that is to say, in the church. Since all the faithful are one body, the good of one is communicated to another. . . .

Among all the other members of the church, however, the principal member is Christ, for he is the head of the church. . . . Therefore the good of Christ is communicated to all Christians, as the wisdom of the head is communicated to all members. This communion comes about through the sacraments of the church, in which the strength of the passion of Christ for conferring grace and forgiving sins operates.<sup>2</sup>

As Aquinas and Van der Weyden each taught in his own medium, for Christians, the sacraments were inseparable from the person of Christ. Their efficacy had its origin in the sacrifice of the cross; his blood flowed through each sacrament, albeit in ways unique to each sacrament. No sacrament was sufficient unto itself: without baptism, Communion had no meaning and no effect; without Communion penance was incomplete. Five sacraments linked humankind to Christ in a specific way—through, in Aquinas's words, "cleansing" (baptism and extreme unction), "vigor" (confirmation), feeding (Communion), and "healing" (penance).<sup>3</sup> "Because these sacraments must be administered through designated ministers, the sacrament of orders was required". In matrimony, the seventh sacrament, "men and women are saved and enabled to live without mortal sin".<sup>4</sup> Through the sacraments, Aquinas taught, "we accomplish the forgiveness of sins".<sup>5</sup>

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2 *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, trans. Nicholas Ayo, C.S.C., (Notre Dame, 1988), 135.

3 *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, 136–9.

4 *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, 138–9. Peter Lombard was the first to articulate a list of seven sacraments in the Western Church, Maxwell E. Johnson, ed., *Sacraments and Worship: Key Readings in the history and theology of Christian worship from the New Testament to the present* (Louisville, KY, 2012), 6.

5 *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, 138–9.

As Van der Weyden also makes visible, the sacrament of baptism did not simply ‘make’ one a Christian in the language I have been using, but initiated a human being into the communion of the Church—that is, brought that person into the community of living Christians and of the dead who would rise again, and was the necessary sacrament before one could receive any other sacrament, before any other sacrament could be efficacious. Baptism, there at the front on the left wing of the altarpiece, was the beginning of the Christian life. The Christian circled around the nave of the image, moving through confirmation, penance, orders or marriage, to extreme unction, the death of the body and the life everlasting. At the very center of that circle, as Van der Weyden represented it, was the Crucifixion and its living evocation, the Mass.

Sacraments marked the stages of a human life—birth, adulthood, the formation of a household or the entry into the priesthood, death—and they healed and nourished Christians over the course of their lives. They were not a text to be remembered, but so complex an experience that it was easier to compile hundreds of exempla of transgressions of the Ten Commandments than to “teach” “the sacraments”. Jean Gerson’s *A, B, C, des simples gens* called for the priest to teach the “seven sacraments of the holy church”: “baptism, confirmation, holy orders, the sacrament of the Mass, marriage, penance, and extreme unction”.<sup>6</sup> It offered no further instruction: no definitions, no descriptions, no explication, no scriptural references—no other words. *The Most Useful Table of the Christian Religion* listed seven sacraments, five necessary—baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance, extreme unction—and two voluntary: orders, marriage.<sup>7</sup> It, too, provided no more words.

At another level, we can ask, what could any codex teach? As Aquinas himself set forth, sacraments worked differently than did the Ten Commandments, a guide for conduct, the Lord’s Prayer, the ideal words to speak in prayer, or the Apostles’ Creed, which offered the laity succinct and orthodox statements of the core tenets of Christianity. As he wrote of the sacrament of baptism:

which is a certain spiritual rebirth. Just as carnal life cannot be had unless a human being is born carnally, so spiritual life cannot be had unless one is reborn spiritually. And this rebirth comes about through baptism: “[Jesus replied: ‘Amen, amen I say to you,] unless one about be reborn [from water and from the Holy Spirit, one is unable to enter the kingdom of God’]” and so forth (John [3:5]). And just as we grant that a human being is born bodily only once, so only once is he or she baptized. . . .

6 Jean Gerson, “A, B, C, des simples gens,” *Œuvres Complètes* vii (Paris, 1961), 156.

7 *Tabula christiane reli=//gionis vtilissmia* ([Augsburg][circa 1510]), aiv-v.

It is therefore the power of baptism that cleanses from all sins, both as to the punishment and as to the guilt. Thus, no penance is imposed on those baptized, howsoever much they were sinners. And if they were to die after baptism, they would immediately ascend [to heaven]. Thus it also is that although by office only priests may baptize, nevertheless by necessity anyone at all is allowed to baptize, provided the form of baptism is observed: “I baptize you [in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit]” and so forth.

This sacrament takes its strength from the passion of Christ: “[Could you be ignorant that] whoever is baptized [in Christ Jesus, is baptized] in his death?” and so forth. Thus, just as Christ was three days in the tomb, so there is a threefold immersion in the water.<sup>8</sup>

And of the sacrament of Communion:

[3] The Eucharist. In bodily life, after human beings are born and gain their powers, food is required so that it might conserve and sustain them. So it goes in the spiritual life; after the strengthening [of confirmation] spiritual food, which is the body of Christ, is required: “[Jesus said to them: ‘Amen, amen I say to you:’] unless you shall have eaten of the flesh [of the Son of man, and drunk his blood, you will not have life in you]” and so forth (John [6:54]). Thus it is, following the [liturgical] order of the church, once a year each and every Christian ought to receive the body of Christ. Nonetheless, it should be received conscientiously and worthily, because “whoever eats and drinks unworthily” [1 Cor. 11:29], that is to say, with a conscience of mortal sin which has not been confessed, or from which there is no intention to refrain, “eats and drinks judgment upon himself [not discerning the body of the Lord]” [1 Cor. 11:29].<sup>9</sup>

Sacraments worked through the body to affect the soul: Christians were “cleansed” with water, “anointed” with oil, “fed” with the host. They received the sacraments—through their eyes, their hands, their mouths, their ears.<sup>10</sup>

8 *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, 134–7; cf. *The Catechetical Instructions of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Joseph B. Collins (Baltimore, 1939)(© The Catholic Primer), 46.

9 *The Sermon-Conferences of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Apostles' Creed*, 136–7. See also *The Catechetical Instructions of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, 46–7.

10 As Aquinas suggests, ‘reception’ was by no means simple.

In calling for every Christian to confess and receive Communion once a year, the Fourth Lateran Council explicitly decreed that sacraments were to be a part of Christian life. Implicitly, it also set in motion a practice that could itself be educational. As Aquinas suggested later in the century, the sacraments worked—cleansing, healing, nourishing—and in working, they changed understanding.

The Van der Weyden is itself one artifact of the material world within which the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, penance, Communion, and holy orders took place. One trace of the many, many ways that Christianity was imaged forth, preached, embodied, enacted, sung, and chanted, it is evidence not only of the visibility of late medieval Europe, but of the somatic and visual complexity of sacraments. The altarpiece itself images the presence of Christ, even as the Credo spoken in the Mass before the altarpiece provided the narrative, “Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub pontio pilato: passus et sepultus est. Et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas. Et ascendit in celum: sedet ad dexteram patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos”.<sup>11</sup> Within the plane of its three panels are encompassed the seven sacraments, which encircle the Crucifixion, itself the visual and the theological center of all of them. As the Van der Weyden visualizes, the sacraments were integral to that world—moments of divine presence, human mimesis of Christ’s person, and the transformation of the material world through divine will. Each “sacrament” encompassed specific gestures, things, as well as words, which themselves might have visual allusions in the space of the church. Most encompassed vestments, which, again, pointed beyond themselves. Most were to take place, to be spatially located within the rich visual tapestry that was the late medieval church, participating through gesture, clothing, and color in it. Baptism, confirmation, marriage, orders, and extreme unction might occur but once in each life, but parishes, families, households, served formally and informally as witnesses again and again to these moments of divine presence and human action.

Two sacraments existed in a different relationship to the Christian life: penance and Communion. Ideally, following Fourth Lateran, all Christians confessed, did satisfaction, and received absolution once a year at Easter before receiving Communion. The many copies of handbooks teaching the Ten Commandments are evidence of the widespread effort to teach the definition, scope, and exempla of sin in preparation for confession. No other sacrament seems to have produced the same density of texts. The sacraments of penance

11 Missale Romanu nouiter impres-/sum ordine quodam miro ad facillime om//nia inueniēda (Venice: Antonius de Giunta, 1519), 121.



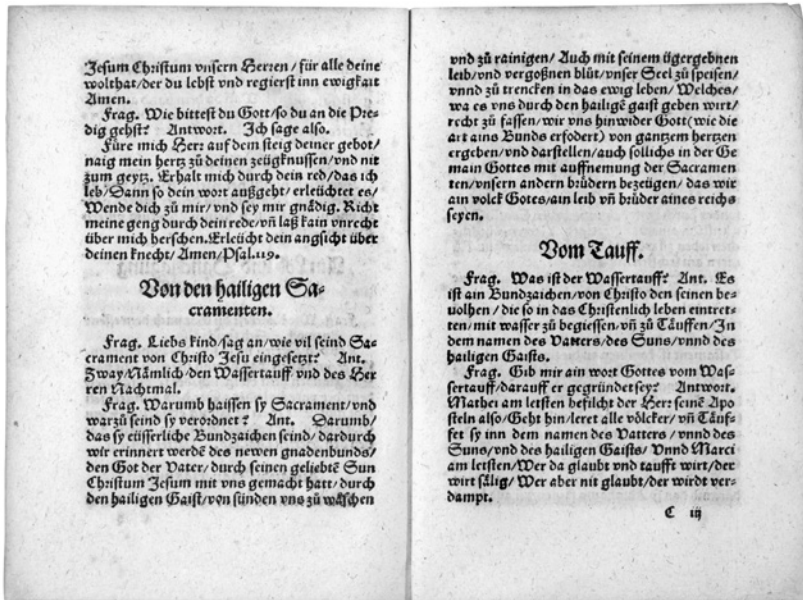


FIGURE 78 *Catechismus// Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fraggsways / Vom Glauben // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vñnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), Cii<sup>v</sup>–Ciii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

and the Eucharist were to be a praxis; the Church taught, “the good of Christ” and grace were communicated through them—Christians were transformed in the reception of the sacraments.

‘Knowledge’ of the sacraments was, even for the most learned of Christians, somatic as well as spiritual, touch and sound as well as eye and ear. As Van der Weyden also makes visible, that knowledge took place in specific moments in time: sacraments were inscribed into the narrative line of each human life—birth, adulthood, the formation of a household, death—even as they were themselves moments out of time. Churches were consecrated to them, just as their celebration within the spaces of churches distinguished those places from the mundane, the world ‘outside’.

### The Sacraments in the Reformation

We do not know, how singular the Van der Weyden altarpiece was or, to put it another way, how common altarpieces of the seven sacraments were. The Van der Weyden survived, perhaps precisely because it was removed from its

original site, but hundreds of altarpieces were smashed, broken up for firewood, burned in pyres of paint, stone, gilt, and wood. We do know, it would have provoked violence in many places: for its placement upon the altar, for its rich colors, for the priests it imaged forth and their sacerdotal power, for its participation in the annual cycle of the liturgy—the closing and opening of its wings—and for what it sought to represent. That vibrantly colored imaging of the vital connection among the sacrifice of the cross, the sacraments, and Christian lives from birth to death was “idolatry” for many in the sixteenth century—the wrongful worship of a false god of human making.

### On the Holy Sacraments

Question: sweet child, say how many sacraments did Jesus Christ institute? Ans. Two. Namely baptism by water and the Lord's Supper.

Question: why are they called sacrament and for what purpose are they established? Ans. For the reason that they are external signs of covenant [Bundzaichen] through which we are reminded of the new covenant of grace which God the Father through His Son Jesus Christ has made with us through the Holy Spirit to cleanse and purify us of sins.

*Catechism. . . Preached in Ulm*<sup>12</sup>

The decision to include the sacraments in the codex of catechisms occurred in the same years that European Christians were taking apart—legally and illegally, quietly and violently, piece by piece—the complexity of late medieval Christianity. Arguably, nothing was more dramatically changed in the sixteenth century than the sacraments. Evangelicals rejected four or five of the medieval sacraments—all rejected confirmation, extreme unction, marriage and orders as sacraments, and most also rejected penance<sup>13</sup>—and in rejecting,

12 Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben / // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestellt // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), Cii–v to Ciii.

13 Luther at once rethought the sacrament of penance and considered confession sacramental. On this Lutheran catechisms vary. Johannes Spangenberg subsumed confession and absolution in the fourth part, on baptism, while the Sacrament of the Altar formed the fifth part, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasst* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541). Lucas Lossius treated penance, confession, and absolution apart from the sacraments, *Catechismus, // HOC EST, CHRISTIANAE // Doctrinæ Methodus* (Frankfurt: Christianus Egenolphus, 1553). Andreas Musculus taught baptism, confession and penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar as three discrete sections at the end of his *CATECHISMVS, // glaub / leer / vnd // bekentnis / der heiligen // alten Leerer vnd Merterer // von den Aposteln an / bis auff*

severed one constellation of connections. All but the Anglican Church rejected vestments, adopting the simpler black robe of a doctor of theology and erasing one dimension of the rich visuality of late medieval sacraments. In many places, Evangelicals melted down the ancient gold and silver chalices and patens, substituting simpler cups and plates, again transforming one dimension to signal something different: honoring no longer in the terms of artistry and preciousness, but in terms of obedience to the biblical narrative.

The sacraments could be taught as words because the world of which they had been a part was no longer to be found in all places (Fig. 78).<sup>14</sup> They were taught as words because those who sought to teach them did not agree on the relationship of sacrament and matter, sacrament and human body, sacrament and grace. They were taught as words because so many in sixteenth-century Europe feared Paul's warning, "Whoever eats and drinks unworthily, he eats and drinks his own damnation, insofar as he does not discern the body of the Lord". "Unworthy" in the sixteenth century came to encompass knowledge: the verbal knowledge of the biblical text and its "meaning".

Reformation catechisms included the "sacraments" in the "knowledge" they sought to teach (Fig. 78). In placing "sacraments" within the codex, sixteenth-century authors were not seeking to fix a text—as they were in the cases of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, or the Ten Commandments—though most did include an amalgam of Gospel narratives for baptism and the Eucharist. They bound that knowledge in a codex with three other parts that had been

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// 400. jar / ongefehr / jetziger zeit (N.p.: n.p., 1555). Ambrosius Moibanus taught just two sacraments, CATECHIS-//MI CAPITA DECEM (Wittenberg: Johann Weiss, 1538). Erasmus Sarcerius taught two sacraments in CATE=//CHISMVS PER // OMNES QVAESTIO=//nes & circumstantias, quæ in // iustam tractationem inci=//dere possunt, in usum // prædicatorum dili//genter ac piè // absolu=//tus (Leipzig: Jacob Berwald, 1541); and three in CATECHISMVS // ERASMI // SARCERII PLANE // nouus, per omnes ferè quæ=//stiones & circumstantias, // quæ in iustam tracta=//tionem incidere // possunt, // in usum scholarum & tem=//plorum, Lipsiæ con=//scriptus (Leipzig: Wolfgang Gunter, 1550), as well as its German version, CATECHISMVS (Leipzig: Wolff Guenther, 1550). Johannes Meckhart, who adopted some, but not all of Luther's catechism, placed absolution, the forgiveness of sins, and a children's confession in the same section as catechesis of baptism, CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ=//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Cviii–v to Dii–v. In Strasbourg, earlier catechisms, such as the *Isagoge*, taught two sacraments, while later catechisms, such as *Catechismus* // // Christliche Vnderriech=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst (Strasbourg: Theodosium Rihel, [c. 1550]), included as the sixth piece "Die Christlich Bußzucht."

14 Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben / // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.), Cii<sup>v</sup>–Ciii.

written down centuries earlier—words had been spoken or chanted or said silently. They were seeking to place in a codex that “knowledge” that a Christian needed in order to understand the “meaning” of something for which modern scholars have struggled to find a word.<sup>15</sup> The word “sacrament” is its name, but that word was itself fiercely contested in the sixteenth century, its definition as well as its referents differing from Church to Church to this day.<sup>16</sup> For all, the word “sacrament” encompassed matter—water, bread, wine, as well as, for Catholics, oil—words, and divine presence.<sup>17</sup> For all, it encompassed an act of some kind, whether, as Van der Weyden depicts, a priest touching an infant’s head with water or elevating a wafer at an altar, or as for Anabaptists, the immersion in water of an adult or the passing of bread hand to hand.

### The Sacraments in the Codex

The strongest evidence that there was no established codicil catechesis of the sacraments is the variety of treatments in sixteenth-century catechisms. Some, such as Urbanus Rhegius, did not teach the sacraments at all.<sup>18</sup> Some, such as Leo Jud, prefaced their teaching of the sacraments—in his case, two in number—by catechesis of the definition of a sacrament.<sup>19</sup> Some, foremost Martin Luther, did not.<sup>20</sup> One catechism taught the Ten Commandments, the Apostles’ Creed, the nature of good works, baptism, and the Lord’s Prayer

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- 15 For one of the most influential recent efforts, see Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005 (1997)).
  - 16 J. de Ghellinck, S.J. traces the origins of ‘sacramentum’, the Latin, to the Greek *mysterion*, *Pour l’histoire du mot “Sacramentum”*: 1. Les Anténicéens (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 3) (Louvain, 1924). Gunther Wenz disputes that etymology, *Sakramente 1:1 Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 29 (Berlin, 1998).
  - 17 Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, ed. William Yorke Fausset (London, 1915), 75. English translation available at New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1303.htm> accessed 7 February 2014.
  - 18 Urbanus Rhegius, *Catechismus // Deutsch // Fuer des Durchleuchten // Hochgebornen Fürsten vñ Herrn // Herrn Ernsten / Hertzogen zuo // Braunschweig vnd Lune//burg / Junge Herrn/ // auff Frag vnd Ant//wort gestellet* (Frankfurt: Cyriacus Jacob, 1545).
  - 19 Leo Jud, *Catechismus // Christliche klare vnd einfalte // ynleytung in den Willen vnnd in // die Gnad Gottes* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [1534]), XCIIII–XCVI.
  - 20 Most Lutheran catechisms followed Luther on this. See, for example, Philip Melanchthon, *CATECHIS//MVS PVERILIS, ID EST, INTITVTIO PVE=//RORVM IN // SACRIS* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1536). Erasmus Sarcerius, however, did take up the definition of sacrament, *CATECHISMVS* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Gunter, 1550), 141r–v.

before turning to the “sacrament of the body and blood of Christ”.<sup>21</sup> *The Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren* taught one sacrament, of “the body and blood of Christ”, under the broad rubric, hope, the last of three parts; it neither described the sacrament nor defined a sacrament, but sought to teach the catechumen that “the blessed bread is the body of the Lord, which should be betrayed and given for us, and that the blessed chalice is the Lord’s blood, which for us and for many should be poured out”.<sup>22</sup> Balthasar Hubmaier divided *A Christian Catechism* into two parts, the first organized around baptism, the second, around the Lord’s Supper.<sup>23</sup> No one mode of teaching sacraments dominated among catechisms of the first part of the century.

That said, most sixteenth-century catechisms taught the sacraments after the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.<sup>24</sup> Canisius’s *Little Catechism*, which contained more sections than any of the Evangelical catechisms, turned to the Sacraments after the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Ten Commandments. Luther’s catechisms came to baptism after the Ten Commandments, the Apostles’ Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer. The Genevan Catechism turned to the sacraments after the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and a brief section, called “On the Word of God” [de la Parole de Dieu] (Fig. 79):<sup>25</sup>

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- 21 Ain kurtzer vn=//derricht der Jugent / so das // Hocwürdig Sacrament des Leibs // vnd Bluots Christi will gebrau=//chen / sehr notwendig zuwissen.// 1. Corinth. II. // Welcher vnwürdig isset vnd trincket / der// isset vnnd trincket jm selbs das Gericht/ // darmit das er nit vnderscheidet den leib // des Herren (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.).
- 22 “Der Katechismus der Böhmischen Brüder,” *Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmischen Brüder*, ed. Gerhard von Zezschwitz (Amsterdam, 1967 [Erlangen, 1863]), 52.
- 23 Balthasar Hubmaier, “A Christian Catechism which Every Person Should Know Before He Is Baptized in Water,” trans. Denis Janz, in *Three Reformation Catechisms: Catholic, Anabaptist, Lutheran*, ed. Denis Janz (New York, 1982), 131–78. See also Janz’s comments on the organization of Hubmaier’s *Catechism*, Introduction, 17–18.
- 24 In addition to Luther’s catechisms and those modeled on them, and the Genevan Catechism, see, for example, Heinrich Bullinger, *CATECHESIS // PRO ADVL=//TIORIBVS SCRIPTA* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1563); Leo Jud, *Der groesser // Catechismus* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, [1534]) and *Catechismus* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1534); Johannes Meckhart, *CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ=//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557); Wolfgang Musculus, *CATECHIS=//MVS, CHRISTIANÆ // religionis institutionem, paucis comple=//ctens* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhardt, n.d. [1545]); *Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst* (Strasbourg: Theodosium Rihel, c. 1550).
- 25 John Calvin, *LE CATE-//CHISME // de Geneue: c’est à dire le formulaire d’in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge,*

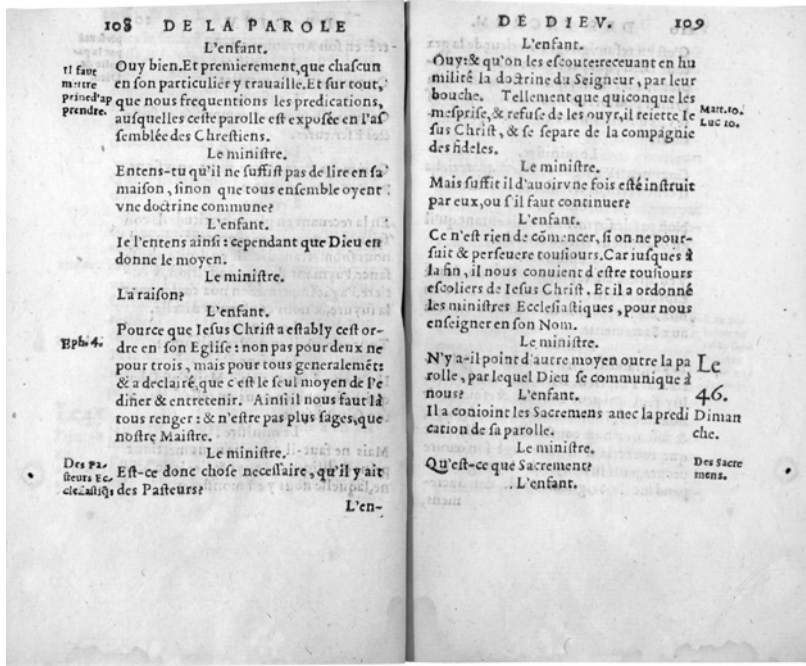


FIGURE 79 John Calvin, *LE CATE--//CHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in--//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter--//roque, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 108–9. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

Minister.

Is there no other means by which God communicates with us?

Child.

He conjoined the sacraments to the preaching of his Word.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>26</sup>

In all these catechisms, the catechumen approached the sacraments only after learning what each taught as the core texts of Christianity—the statement of belief, the commandments, the form of prayer. In them, knowledge of creed,

& l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549).

26 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Eglise de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes de la foi réformée*, ed. Olivier Fatio, 2nd ed. (Geneva, 2005), 92.



commandments, and prayer preceded the sacraments in the spatial structure of the codex and the temporal sequence of catechesis. The Heidelberg Catechism differed dramatically from these others, turning to the definition of a sacrament at Question 66, roughly half way through catechesis, before it taught either the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer. In it, knowledge did not precede the sacraments; they were in its very midst, spatially in the structure of the codex and epistemologically in the sequence of catechesis.

So, too, there is variation in the structure of catechesis. The fourth chapter in Canisius's *Little Catechism*, on the sacraments, accorded some eighteen questions to them, at least one question for each of the seven sacraments prefaced by four questions on the definition, number, and proper celebration of a sacrament (Fig. 80).<sup>27</sup> Luther's *Enchiridion* taught baptism in four sections and seven questions, then the Lord's Supper in five questions; confession was placed either between the two or after them. The Genevan Catechism taught the sacraments in Part IV, which began with the Word of God; after thirteen questions on preaching in the Church, it turned, on the forty-sixth Sunday of catechesis to the sacraments (Fig. 79), which it taught in 64 questions over ten Sundays to the end of catechesis—by far the lengthiest treatment of the sacraments in these four catechisms and among the lengthiest in sixteenth-century catechisms. The Heidelberg Catechism turned to the sacraments in the second part, on redemption; after three questions on the definition, purpose, and number of the sacraments, it taught baptism in six questions and the Lord's Supper in eight questions.

### Defining a Sacrament

Canisius's catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms each prefaced their teaching of specific sacraments with a definition of "sacrament"; Luther's catechisms did not. Canisius's definition comprised two parts. The catechumen first learned a brief definition, which the marginalia in the *Institutiones* indicated (Fig. 80), had been drawn from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and *De catechizandis rudibus*, thus also visually connecting the definition on the page to those Augustinian terms that had shaped consideration of the sacraments since the fifth century:

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27 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575).

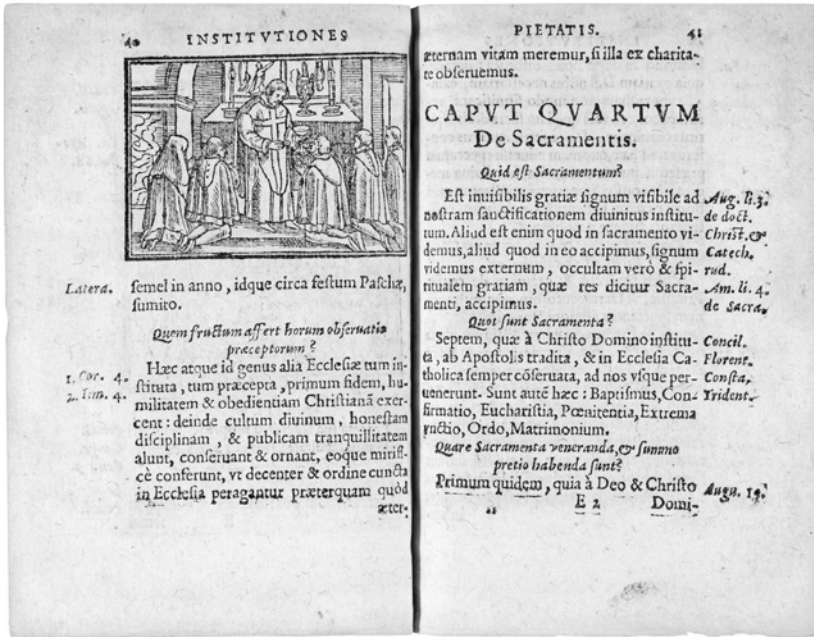


FIGURE 80 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 40–41. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### What is a sacrament?

It is the visible sign of invisible grace, divinely instituted for our sanctification. For the one is what we see in the sacrament, the other what we accept, we see the external sign, we receive the hidden and spiritual grace, which is called the thing of the Sacrament.

Peter Canisius, *Little Catechism*<sup>28</sup>

Immediately following on the same page came a second question:

### How many sacraments are there?

Seven, which have been instituted by Christ, handed on to us by the apostles, always preserved in the Catholic Church, thus come to us. They

28 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 41.

are these: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, Marriage.<sup>29</sup>

On the space of the page and in the temporal sequence of catechesis, the number seven immediately followed the definition the authority of which derived from Augustine. But the relationship of definition to number was not causal—there were seven instances of visible signs of invisible grace, seven “instituted by Christ”, “handed on”, “preserved”. These were the exempla of the definition, not its consequence.

Canisius's *Little Catechism* then took up two questions that historically had been linked: the honor due the sacraments and the form of their celebration:

Why are the sacraments to be venerated [veneranda] and held to be  
most precious?

First, because they were instituted by God and Christ the Lord in the new law; thereafter because they not only show us God's necessary and abundant grace, but also as holy vessels of the divine spirit containing and bringing the same to those who receive them; then because they are the most present remedy against sin or divine medicines of our Samaritan; finally, because in those who have God's grace, it is preserved, increased and augmented.

Why are solemn ceremonies for the sacraments conducted in the  
Church?<sup>30</sup>

The answer to the second question listed “many grave causes”: that those witnessing the sacraments be mindful that nothing profane was occurring, but the hidden mysteries of God which called for singular reverence; that receiving them increased interior devotion; that these ceremonies were the signs, testimonies, and exercises that God would have done to honor him; that those who administered the sacraments might do so with greater dignity, following in the steps of the Apostles and the tradition of the Church.<sup>31</sup> While Canisius's catechisms did not engage directly with Evangelical positions, implicitly, the catechumen learned answers to Evangelical challenges: a definition that found its

29 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 41.

30 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 41–2.

31 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 42.

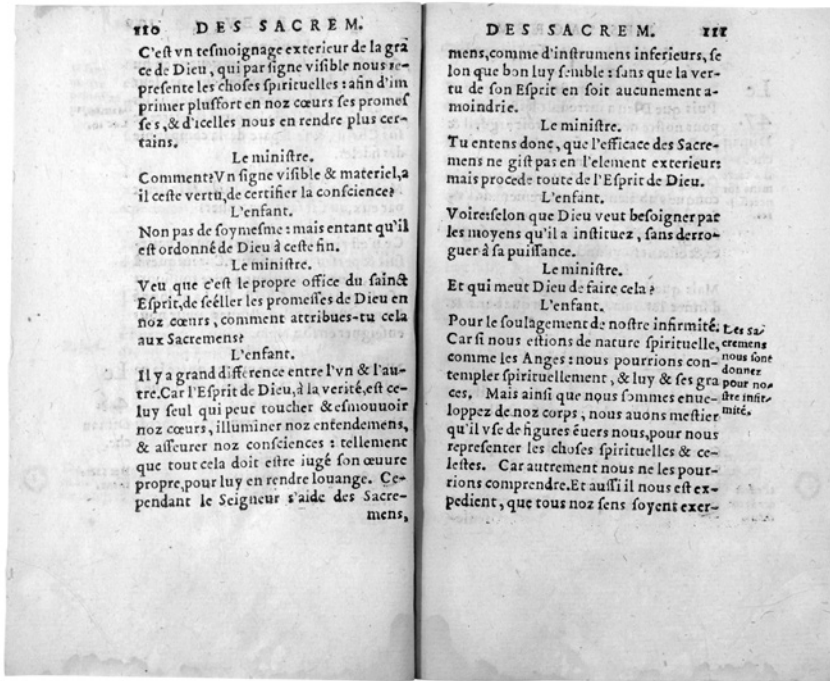


FIGURE 81 John Calvin, *LE CATE--//CHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in--//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter--//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Jean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // *Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine* // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 110–11. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

amplification in seven discrete examples and reasons for the particular forms of worship that the Church of Rome affirmed and clarified at the Council of Trent.

Even as he preserved Augustine's terms of "visible sign" and invisible "spiritual things",<sup>32</sup> John Calvin placed them spatially contiguous to his notion of "promise" (Fig. 81):

Minister.

What is a sacrament?

32 On Augustine's notion of "sign," see R. A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs," *Phronesis* 2(1957): 60–83.

Child.

It is the external testimony of the grace of God, who by visible sign represents to us spiritual things, in order to imprint his promises more strongly in our hearts and to render us more certain of them.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>33</sup>

More than the other catechisms, the Genevan sought to teach how a sacrament worked:

Minister.

How is it that a visible and material sign has the power to give our consciences certainty?

Child.

Not by itself, but because it is ordained by God to this end.

Minister.

Seeing that it is the proper office of the Holy Spirit to seal the promises of God in our hearts, how do you attribute that to the sacraments?

Child.

There is a great difference between the one and the other. Because God's spirit, truly, is that which can touch and move our hearts, illumine our understanding, and assure our consciences, such that all of this should be judged as work proper to him, and we should render our praise to him. For the Lord uses the sacraments, like an inferior instrument, as it seemed good to him, without diminishing the power of his Spirit in any way.

...

Minister.

And what moved God to do this?

Child.

For the alleviation of our infirmity. Because if we were of a spiritual nature, like the angels, we would be able to contemplate spiritually both him and his graces. But just as we are enveloped in our bodies, we have need of the use of figures, in order to represent to us spiritual and heavenly things. Because otherwise we cannot comprehend them. And it is also proper that our senses be exercised in his holy promises, that we might be confirmed in them.

*The Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>34</sup>

33 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 92.

34 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 92–3.

One question took up the “arrogance and presumption” of those who “thought they could let them go”:

Child.

Yes, certainly. Just as anyone abstains voluntarily from the use of them, thinking that there is nothing necessary about them, dishonors Jesus Christ, rejects his grace, and quenches his Holy Spirit.

Minister.

But what certitude of grace can the sacraments give, given that the good and the bad receive them?

Child.

However much those who do not believe and do evil annihilate his grace, which is presented to them in the sacraments, it does not follow that what is proper to them [the sacraments] is not there.

The sacraments produce their effect “When one receives them in faith, seeking solely Jesus Christ and his grace”.

The sign was neither the thing itself nor a simple symbol for something else:

Minister.

Why do you say that we should seek Jesus Christ?

Child.

To signify that we should not make ourselves foolish searching for our salvation in the terrestrial sign, nor imagine that there is any power contained therein, but to the contrary, that we take the sign as an aid which leads us directly to the Lord Jesus, to seek there our salvation and all things good.

The sacrament nourished:

Child.

It does not suffice that faith is solely begun in us for one time, but it is necessary that it be nourished and maintained so that it grows daily and is increased in us. Thus to nourish it, to strengthen it, and to grow it, God gives us the sacraments. This is what Saint Paul denotes, in saying that the use of them seals the promises of God in our hearts.

*Catechism of the Church of Geneva*<sup>35</sup>

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35 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 93–4.



One more question explained the increase of faith further, ending that section of catechesis. On the next Sunday, the 48th, the Genevan Catechism asked

Minister.

How many sacraments are there in the Christian Church?

Child.

There are but two common to all that the Lord Jesus has instituted for all the company of the faithful.

Minister.

Which?

Child.

Baptism and the Holy Supper.<sup>36</sup>

In the Genevan Catechism, the single answer definition of a sacrament was not followed directly by catechesis of the number; number followed upon the much lengthier catechesis of God's agency and the interconnection of visible sign and the increase of faith. Number followed upon the repeated term, "instituted": the signs that God had instituted.

Like the Genevan, the Heidelberg Catechism, made explicit the "promise" (Fig. 82):<sup>37</sup>

Question 66. What are the sacraments?

They are visible, holy signs and seals instituted by God in order that by their use he may the more fully disclose and seal us to the promise of the gospel, namely, that because of the one sacrifice of Christ accomplished on the cross he graciously grants us the forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

Unlike the Genevan, the Heidelberg asked just one more question before turning to the number:

Question 67. Are both the Word and the sacraments designed to direct our faith to the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross as the only ground of our salvation?

36 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 95.

37 Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht / // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=//len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563).

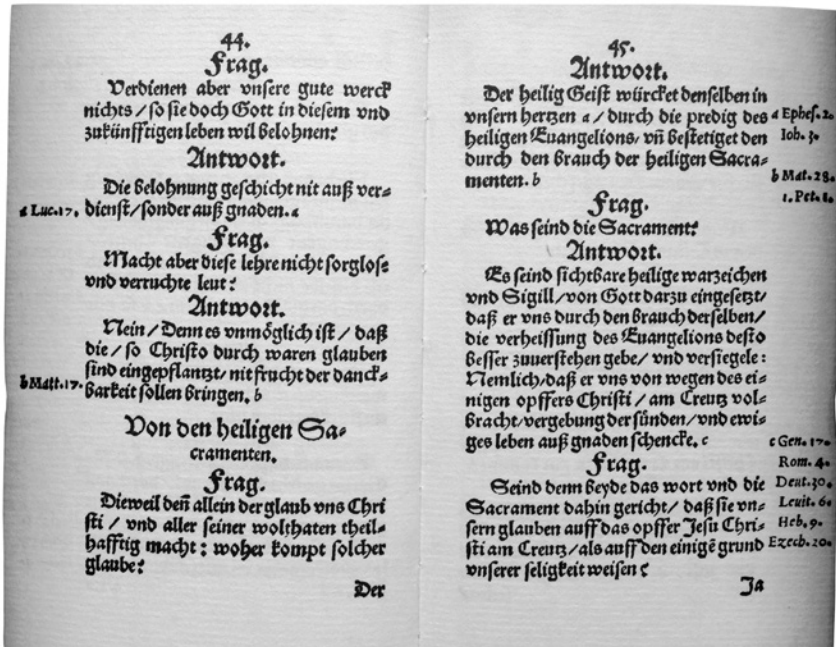


FIGURE 82 *Catechismus // Oder // Christliche Unterricht // wie in der Kirchen vnd Schu=// len der Churfuerstlichen // Pfalz getrieben // wirdt. (Heidelberg: Johann Mayer, 1563), 44–45.*

Yes, indeed, for the Holy Spirit teaches in the gospel and confirms by the holy sacraments that our whole salvation is rooted in the one sacrifice of Christ offered for us on the cross.<sup>38</sup>

When, in the next question, the Heidelberg Catechism turned to the number of sacraments—“two, holy baptism and the holy supper”—the number followed both the definition and “the one sacrifice offered for us on the cross”.

In all three, a definition of “sacrament” in the abstract and a number, seven or two, preceded catechesis of specific sacraments. In all three, “sacrament” was first, in the spatial logic of the codex, an abstract concept, whose definition encompassed number.

38 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” in *Confessions and Catechisms of the Reformation*, ed. Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids, 1991), 149.

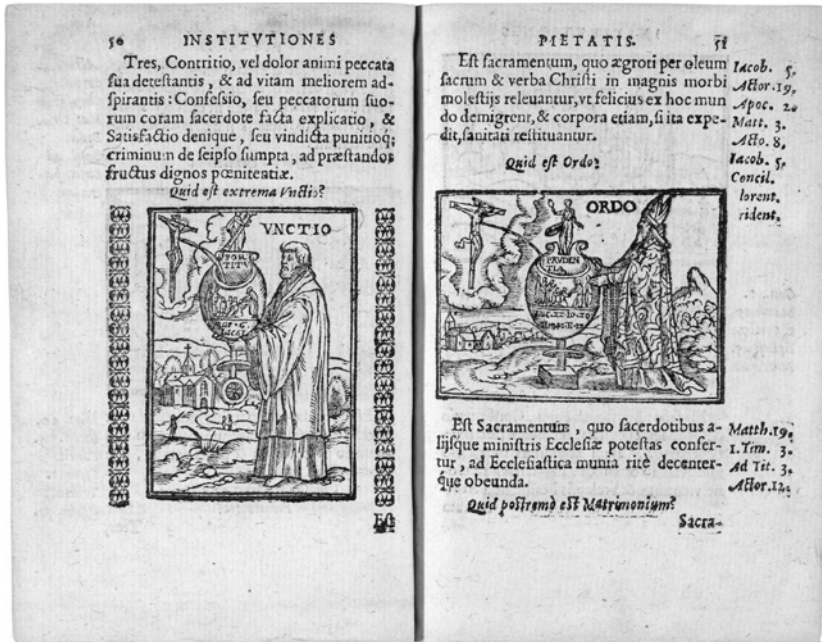


FIGURE 83 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 50–51. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### Teaching the Sacraments

In Canisius's catechisms and the Heidelberg Catechism, number followed immediately the definition of a sacrament; in the Genevan, God's use of visible signs; in all three, definition and number were linked in the spatial and temporal sequence of the codex. In Canisius's catechisms, each of the seven sacraments amplified the definition of a sacrament; in the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms, the definition not only prefaced but laid the foundation for the number. Luther's catechisms neither offered a definition nor posed a question as to number.

Canisius's catechisms taught the sacraments in the same order as Aquinas had set forth in his sermons: baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage. The *Little Catechism* asked one question each for baptism, confirmation, extreme unction, orders, and marriage—the first of which all Churches recognized as a sacrament, the remaining four, Evangelical Churches did not recognize as sacraments. It asked six questions on the Eucharist and two questions on penance. Luther's *Enchiridion* treated

baptism and the Lord's Supper in separate chapters and in different spatializations: the chapter on baptism was subdivided into four sections, three of which asked two questions each, and one of which asked one question; the chapter on the Lord's Supper was not subdivided, but posed five questions. Luther considered confession an essential part of what a Christian needed to know, but alone among the parts of the catechism, it did not have a clear place, in some, located between baptism and the Lord's Supper, in some as a separate section at the end, "Exhortation to Confession".<sup>39</sup> The Genevan Catechism asked fifteen questions on baptism, twenty-one on the Supper, in addition to two questions at the beginning and ten questions on the relationship of the two sacraments to one another at the end. The Heidelberg Catechism asked six questions on baptism and eight questions on the Lord's Supper.

Before turning to those sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist, all four taught, we take up those that Canisius's catechisms taught—confirmation, extreme unction, orders, and marriage—then turn to penance and, as it was taught in the *Enchiridion*, confession.

#### What is confirmation?

It is the sacrament that the bishop administers to those already baptized, in which through the holy chrism and the sacred words grace is conferred and the spirit made more robust, in part to strengthen faith, in part to confess freely the name of God, when it is [our] work.<sup>40</sup>

...

#### What is extreme unction?

It is the sacrament by which the sick, through holy oil and the words of Christ, have the great burdens of their death alleviated, so that they leave this world more happily, or if it so occurs, have health restored to the body.<sup>41</sup>

...

39 *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, vol. 30, 1 (Weimar, 1910) [Hereafter WA 30,1], 499–521 and 666–819, for bibliographies of editions of *The German Catechism* and the *Enchiridion*, respectively. Johannes Spangenberg placed confession at the end of the fourth part, on baptism, before the fifth, on the Lord's Supper, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), pp. 232–248. Erasmus Sarcerius placed "De Absolutione" at the end of his catechism, *CATECHISMVS* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Gunter, 1550), 197r–v.

40 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 44.

41 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 50–1.

What is orders?

It is the sacrament by which is conferred the power to the priests and ministers of the Church to execute ecclesiastical duties, ceremoniously and properly.

What finally is marriage?

It is the sacrament by which a man and a woman lawfully entering a shared life that cannot be divided, receive the grace of God, in part to support offspring honestly and in a Christian manner, in part to avoid libidinous liaisons and the sin of incontinence.<sup>42</sup>

For each of these four sacraments, the *Little Catechism* posed a simple question: “What is” [Quid est]? For each, it offered a brief answer that began with the statement, “It is a sacrament” [Sacramentum est], in the repetition of catechesis underlining that this—confirmation, extreme unction, orders, and marriage—is a sacrament (Fig. 83). In keeping with the larger spirit of Canisius’s catechisms, no reference was made to another way of thinking. The catechumen learned, in answer to each question, “What is [confirmation, extreme unction, orders, marriage]?” foremost that it is a sacrament, and then learned its material sign, the action of the priest (or the couple, in the case of marriage), and the effect of each sacrament.

### Penance

Canisius placed the sacrament of penance directly after catechesis of the sacrament of the Eucharist in his catechisms (Fig. 84). Again, the simple question: What is penance? But it was not followed with the same formula:

It is the second plank after shipwreck and the necessary sacrament for the relapsed, in which the remission of sin is sought by them and by which the priest grants it.

How many parts and actions of penance are there?

Three, Contrition, or suffering of spirit detesting his sins, and aspiring to a better life; Confession, or the explication of his sins before the priest;

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42 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 51–2.

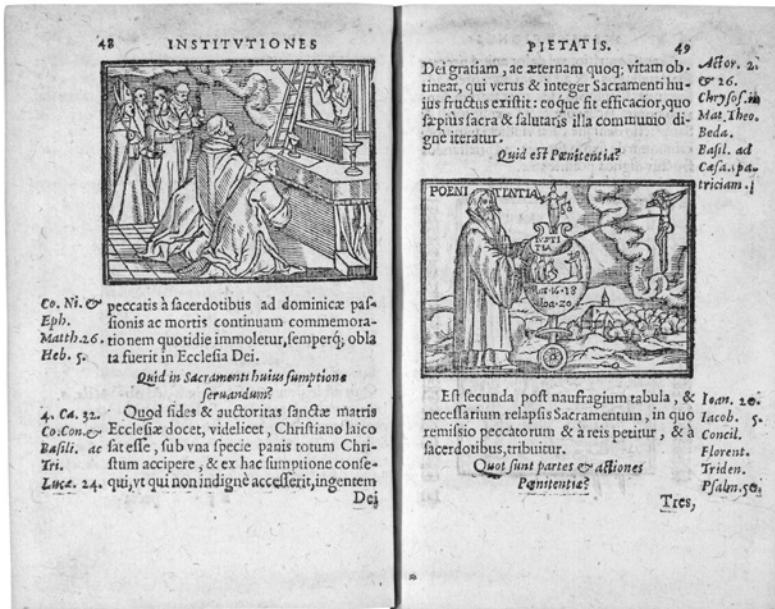


FIGURE 84 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 48–49. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

and then Satisfaction, in which the same [the penitent] takes up revenge and punishment on his crimes, to fulfill the worthy fruits of penance.<sup>43</sup>

Canisius's catechisms did not affirm, as they had done with others, that penance was a sacrament, but outlined the process—three components—that included the presence of a priest.

### Confession

Luther rejected the sacerdotal power of priests and therefore their role in penance. He rejected good works as having any efficacy in salvation. Thus, he rejected two foundations of the medieval sacrament of penance. But he held the act of confession to be central to the life of the Christian (Fig. 85).<sup>44</sup>

43 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 49–50.

44 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p.





FIGURE 85 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

What is confession? Answer.

Confession consists of two parts. One is that we confess our sins. The other is that we receive the absolution, that is, forgiveness, from the confessor as from God himself and by no means doubt but firmly believe that our sins are thereby forgiven before God in heaven.

*Enchiridion*<sup>45</sup>

After a discussion of which sins a Christian was to confess, the *Enchiridion* then taught the catechumen how to confess:

You are to say to the confessor:

“Honorable, dear sir, I ask you to listen to my confession and declare to me forgiveness for God’s sake.”

45 Martin Luther, “The Small Catechism,” in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis, 2000), 360.

“Proceed.”

“I, a poor sinner, confess before God that I am guilty of all my sins.”<sup>46</sup>

There follows the sins of servants—failure to serve their masters faithfully, quarrelling with equals, grumbling—and the sins of masters: not caring faithfully for a child, servants, the household, spouse, cursing, doing harm to neighbors, “‘spoken evil of them, overcharged them, and sold them inferior goods and shortchanged them,’ and whatever else he or she has done against the commands of God and their walk of life, etc.” At the end of the sins of the servants, the catechumen was to say “I am sorry for all this and ask for grace. I want to do better”. Following the form of confession for masters, the *Enchiridion* takes up those who “do not find themselves burdened by these or greater sins”, who are “not to search for or invent further sins and thereby turn confession into torture”, but to confess “In particular I confess that I cursed once, likewise that one time I was inconsiderate in my speech, one time I neglected this or that, etc.” Last among kinds of Christians confessing, the *Enchiridion* takes up those who “are aware of no sins at all (which is really quite unlikely)”, who should then offer a general confession.<sup>47</sup>

Following the form of confession in the *Enchiridion* is the exchange between the confessor and the confessing:

Thereupon the confessor is to say:

“God be gracious to you and strengthen your faith. Amen.”

Let the confessor say [further]:

“Do you also believe that my forgiveness is God’s forgiveness?”

[Answer:] “Yes, dear sir.”

Thereupon he may say:

“‘Let it be done for you according to your faith.’ And I by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ forgive you your sin in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. Go in peace.”<sup>48</sup>

Luther’s catechisms taught two parts, eliminating satisfaction and recasting absolution. The confessor, not a priest, did not himself absolve, but spoke to remind the confessing of God’s forgiveness. Luther’s catechisms included the text for the confessor, a part of what each catechumen was to learn—not simply to hear and receive, but speak and know “by heart”.

46 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 360–1.

47 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 361.

48 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 361–2.



FIGURE 86 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 42–43. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## Baptism

### What is baptism?

It is the first and most necessary sacrament of the new law, which is conveyed once in water, by which we are spiritually reborn, in the full remission of sins see ourselves adopted as children of God, and are entered as inheritors of heavenly life.

Canisius, *Little Catechism*<sup>49</sup>

As with the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, orders, and marriage, Canisius's *Little Catechism* asked just one question on baptism (Fig. 86). As brief as the other single answers, this one was nearly cryptic in all the

49 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 43–4.

information it conveyed. This sacrament was “the first” in a Christian’s life—in the practice of each Church, it was the formal beginning of a Christian life. It was “most necessary”: without it, human beings could not be adopted as children of God; without it, they could not inherit heaven. It was the sacrament “of the new law”, of the law of love that the catechumen had already learned in catechesis of the Ten Commandments and indirectly in catechesis of the Apostles’ Creed. It was to occur “once”, implicitly repudiating Anabaptists, who practiced rebaptism. Water was the matter of the sign. By that water, a person was “reborn”, born into a new life, of “the full remission of sins”—not partial, not merely symbolic, but full.

Martin Luther’s *Enchiridion* did not have one chapter, “Sacraments”, but two discrete chapters, “The Sacrament of Holy Baptism” (Fig. 87) and “The Sacrament of the Altar”. The chapter on baptism was further divided into four parts, three of which included a second question on the scriptural source for the answer to the first question; in the one section comprising a single question, the scriptural source was embedded in the single answer.

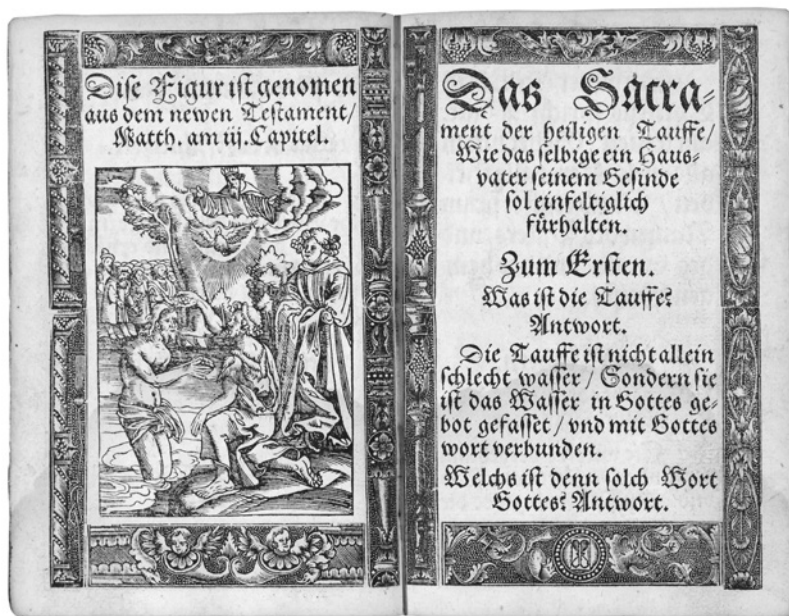


FIGURE 87 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## First

What is baptism? Answer:

Baptism is not simply plain water. Instead it is water enclosed in God's command and connected with God's Word.

What then is this Word of God? Answer:

Where our Lord Christ says in Matthew 28[:19], "Go into all the world, teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

## Second

What gifts or benefits does baptism grant? Answer:

It brings about forgiveness of sins, redeems from death and the devil, and gives eternal salvation to all who believe it, as the words and promise of God declare.

What are these words and promise of God? Answer:

Where our Lord Christ says in Mark 16[:16], "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but whoever does not believe will be damned."

## Third

How can water do such great things? Answer:

Clearly the water does not do it, but the Word of God, which is with and alongside the water, and faith, which trusts this Word of God in the water. For without the Word of God the water is plain water and not a baptism, but with the Word of God it is a baptism, that is, a grace-filled water of life and a "bath of the new birth in the Holy Spirit," as St. Paul says to Titus in chapter 3[:5–8], "through the bath of rebirth and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which he richly poured over us through Jesus Christ our Savior, so that through that very grace we may be righteous and heirs in hope of eternal life. This is surely most certainly true."

## Fourth

What then is the significance of such a baptism with water? Answer:

It signifies that the old creature in us with all sins and evil desires is to be drowned and die through daily contrition and repentance, and on the other hand that daily a new person is to come forth and rise up to live before God in righteousness and purity forever.

Where is this written? Answer:

St. Paul says in Romans 6[:4], "We were buried with Christ through baptism unto death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, we, too, are to walk in a new life."

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>50</sup>

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50 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 359–60.



In Luther's *Enchiridion*, the definition, benefits, effects, and significance of baptism were each grounded in scriptural texts that the catechumen also learned—"for without the Word of God the water is plain water and not a baptism". The centrality of the Word of God to the sacrament was to be found in Augustine, but Augustine had not "enclosed" the water in God's command—for Augustine, the sign had had power that eluded the kind of textuality Luther's *Enchiridion* taught.

On the forty-eighth Sunday, the Genevan Catechism turned to baptism, "the entry into the Church of God, because it testifies to us that God, in place of our being strangers to him, receives us as his domestics".<sup>51</sup> That Sunday, the lesson concluded with the "signification" of baptism:

Child.

[The signification] has two parts. Because the Lord represents to us the remission of our sins, and thus our regeneration, or our spiritual rebirth.<sup>52</sup>

The next two Sundays—some fifteen questions—were dedicated solely to baptism. The first took up the "similitude of the water to that which it represents to us":

Child.

The remission of sins is a kind of washing, by which our souls are purged of their stain, just as the filth of the body is washed away by the water.<sup>53</sup>

The second, "the other part", regeneration:

Child.

Because the beginning of our regeneration is, that our nature be mortified, with the consequence, that we are new creatures by the Spirit of God. The water is thus poured on us over the head, in sign of death, at the same time, in such a way, that our resurrection is similarly figured, in that it is done in just a minute of time, and not that we are drowned in the water.<sup>54</sup>

51 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 95.

52 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 95.

53 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 96.

54 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 96.



The water, the catechumen was then to explain, did not itself cleanse:

Child.

No. For that belongs to the blood of Jesus Christ alone, who shed it to efface all our stains, and to render us pure and without pollution before God. For this is accomplished in us, when our consciences are aroused by the Holy Spirit. But by the sacrament this is certified to us.<sup>55</sup>

Nor was the water mere “figure”:

Child.

It is such a figure that the truth is conjoined with it. For God promises nothing in vain, because it is certain that at baptism the remission of sins is offered us and we receive it.<sup>56</sup>

Grace was not received indifferently by all human beings: “none but the faithful sense its efficacy”.<sup>57</sup> The catechumen again affirms that regeneration is effected “by the death and resurrection of our savior Christ. For his death has this power, that by it, our old Adam is crucified . . . and the newness of life, to follow the justice of God, proceeds from the resurrection”. The faithful obtain grace in baptism: “we are dressed in Jesus Christ and receive his Spirit, by which means we do not render ourselves unworthy of the promises which he has given us”. The “right practice of baptism” is

in faith and repentance, that is, that we are certain that we have our spiritual purity in Christ and feel it in ourselves and declare it to our neighbors by our works, that his Spirit inhabits us to mortify our desires towards the end of making us follow the will of God.<sup>58</sup>

On the 50th Sunday, the Catechism turned to the question of infant baptism: “It is not said, that faith and repentance ought always to precede the reception of the sacrament, but solely for those who are able. It suffices, that infants produce and demonstrate the fruit of their baptism, after they are old enough to know it”.<sup>59</sup> In teaching the reasoning for infant baptism, the Catechism then turned to circumcision, which, as Moses and the prophets declared, was also

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55 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 96.

56 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 96.

57 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 97.

58 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 97.

59 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 53.

a sacrament of penance; God did not exclude infants. The promises God had made in antiquity to his people of Israel are now intended for all the world. It follows, the Catechism taught, that “we” should use this sign, “for the sign of the goodness and the mercy of God over our children, which they had under the Ancients, . . . is offered for our consolation, and to confirm the promise, which was made from the beginning”.<sup>60</sup>

Minister.

You mean then, since God declared himself in antiquity to be the Savior of infants, and willed that this promise be sealed in their bodies by the external sacrament, that with good reason there be no less confirmation among Christians, since the same promise abides, and the same is more clearly testified by the Word and ratified by faith.

Child.

Yes. And it is to [our] advantage, to note concerning the power and substance of baptism pertaining to infants, one injures them, if the sign, which is inferior, is denied.

Minister.

By what condition should we baptize infants?

Child.

In sign and witness that they are inheritors of the benediction of God, promised to the generation of the faithful, towards the end that when they come of age, they recognize the truth of the baptism, for their profit.<sup>61</sup>

Infant baptism, the Genevan Catechism taught, was grounded neither in practice nor in anthropology—human sinfulness—but in the specific relationship between sign and promise. While the promise had been made “from the beginning”, the sign sealed that promise for each individual human being.

At the end of catechesis of the Eucharist, the Genevan Catechism once again took up baptism, as it compared with the Supper:

Minister.

Do the two sacraments serve no other end [than a help and succor against human infirmity]?

Child.

Yes, they are as well the signs and marks of our profession, that is to say, that by them, we profess that we are the people of God, and make confession of our Christianity.

60 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 98.

61 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 98–9.

It then distinguished between the two:

Minister.

Does it suffice to receive once the one and then the other?

Child.

Baptism is ordained to be received but once, and it is not licit to reiterate it. But it is not the same with the Supper.<sup>62</sup>

In the German and Latin first editions of the Heidelberg Catechism, baptism and the Supper each received their own headings: “On Holy Baptism”, “On the Holy Supper of Jesus Christ”. The Heidelberg Catechism asked fewer questions than did the Genevan. In some ways, it echoed the Genevan:

Question 69. How does holy baptism remind and assure you that the one sacrifice of Christ on the cross avails for you?

In this way: Christ has instituted this external washing with water and by it has promised that I am as certainly washed with his blood and Spirit from the uncleanness of my soul and from all my sins, as I am washed externally with water which is used to remove the dirt from my body.

Question 70. What does it mean to be washed with the blood and Spirit of Christ?

It means to have the forgiveness of sins from God, through grace, for the sake of Christ’s blood which he shed for us in his sacrifice on the cross, and also to be renewed by the Holy Spirit and sanctified as members of Christ, so that we may more and more die unto sin and live in a consecrated and blameless way.<sup>63</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg taught “washing”, even as it also invoked as a bipolarity, “external” and “spiritual”. So, too, it taught that the “washing” meant forgiveness of sins, and connected that forgiveness to Christ’s “sacrifice on the cross”. And it taught “death” unto sin, and a new life, “blameless”. Question 71 taught the catechumen the same scriptural authorization for baptism as Luther’s *Enchiridion* had taught, without providing the precise reference.

62 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 104.

63 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 149–50.

The next questions again echoed the Genevan Catechism:

Question 72. Does merely the outward washing with water itself wash away sins?

No; for only the blood of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit cleanse us from all sins.

Question 73. Then why does the Holy Spirit call baptism the water of rebirth and the washing away of sins?

God does not speak in this way except for a strong reason. Not only does he teach us by baptism that just as the dirt of the body is taken away by water, so our sins are removed by the blood and Spirit of Christ; but more important still, by the divine pledge and sign he wishes to assure us that we are just as truly washed from our sins spiritually as our bodies are washed with water.<sup>64</sup>

Even as it taught infant baptism in terms that echoed the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism introduced a key term, covenant, which altered the import of baptism:

Question 74. Are infants also to be baptized?

Yes, because they, as well as their parents, are included in the covenant and belong to the people of God. Since both redemption from sin through the blood of Christ and the gift of faith from the Holy Spirit are promised to these children no less than to their parents, infants are also by baptism, as a sign of the covenant, to be incorporated into the Christian church and distinguished from the children of unbelievers. This was done in the old covenant by circumcision. In the new covenant baptism has been instituted to take its place.<sup>65</sup>

While all four catechisms preserved the matter of water, the “washing” differed. Canisius’s catechisms taught “the full remission of sins”, while the *Enchiridion*, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms taught the “forgiveness of sins”. Canisius’s catechism did not seek to stipulate the relationship between the water and the remission of sins. Each of the Evangelical catechisms explicitly taught that the water did not effect the forgiveness of sins; each connected the water to the blood Christ shed on the cross, implicitly thereby linking the sacrament of baptism to the sacrament of the Eucharist.

64 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 150.

65 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 150.



FIGURE 88 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 46–47. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

## The Eucharist

No sacrament was as debated, and debated along so many different lines, as the Eucharist. Canisius's catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms all asked more questions on the Eucharist than on any other sacrament. Canisius's *Little Catechism* (Fig. 88) taught five points of doctrine:

What are the principle points of doctrine on the Eucharist  
necessary to know?

Five. The first is its truth. The second is the bread and wine are converted into the body and blood of Christ. Third, it ought to be adored. Fourth, its oblation. Fifth and last, the reception of this same sacrament.

Canisius, *Little Catechism*<sup>66</sup>

66 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 44–45.

The following questions each took up one point of doctrine. The truth of the sacrament was “Christ, true God and true man, is truly and integrally contained in the sacrament, there for us, whenever the priest properly ordained consecrates the bread and the wine by those secret words that were given by Christ”.<sup>67</sup> The conversion occurred “through Christ, working through these very words, the bread and the wine are converted into the body and the blood of our Lord, and afterward, neither bread nor wine remain in the Eucharist”.<sup>68</sup> The adoration due the sacrament was

the very same as ought to be given to Christ the Lord and eternal God, such that we acknowledge that he is present there. Thus the sacrament was to be venerated by pious worship with the body as with the soul.<sup>69</sup>

The lengthiest answer followed a question on perhaps the single most disputed point:

Why is this sacrament held to be an oblation?

Because it is a sacrifice of the new law, clean and bloodless, succeeding the bloody sacrifice of Jewish law, which is offered to both living and dead Christian faithful and celebrated in the Mass, for which reason, the Eucharist is not only received by people of faith, but is also daily offered by the priest in the Church of God for our sin and in continuing commemoration of our Lord’s passion and death.<sup>70</sup>

In answer to the last question on the Sacrament of the Altar the catechumen learned Communion in one kind, “in the bread all of Christ is received”, and the necessity to approach the sacrament worthily, which led, in the logic of the codex, to the next sacrament, penance.

In Luther’s *Enchiridion*, the Eucharist was accorded a discrete chapter (Fig. 89), comprising five questions. The first was a question of definition:

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67 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 45.

68 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 46.

69 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 46–7.

70 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), 47–8.





FIGURE 89 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

What is the Sacrament of the Altar? Answer:

It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and wine, instituted by Christ himself for us Christians to eat and to drink.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>71</sup>

Not unlike Canisius's catechism, the *Enchiridion* taught an answer nearly cryptic, encompassing key points of doctrine: "true body and blood", implicitly rejecting any argument for symbolism; "under the bread and wine", implicitly rejecting any argument for transubstantiation; "instituted by Christ", returning the catechumen to the Gospel narrative which followed immediately; "to eat and to drink", implicitly rejecting any symbolic eating or drinking.

The *Enchiridion* then offered a narrative of the Last Supper, blending, as it also taught, discrete Gospel accounts into one that the catechumen was to learn by heart:

71 Luther, "The Small Catechism," *The Book of Concord*, 362.

The holy evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and St. Paul write thus:

“Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the night in which he was betrayed, took the bread, gave thanks, and broke it and gave it to his disciples and said, ‘Take; eat; this is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.’

“In the same way he also took the cup after the supper, gave thanks, and gave it to them and said, ‘Take, and drink of it, all of you. This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.’”

The *Enchiridion* then taught the catechumen to attend to specific words in that narrative, their import for the sacrament:

What is the benefit of such eating and drinking? Answer:

The words “given for you” and “shed for you for the forgiveness of sins” show us that forgiveness of sin, life, and salvation are given to us in the sacrament through these words, because where there is forgiveness of sin, there is also life and salvation.

How can bodily eating and drinking do such a great thing? Answer:

Eating and drinking certainly do not do it, but rather the words that are recorded: “given for you” and “shed for you for the forgiveness of sins.” These words, when accompanied by the physical eating and drinking, are the essential thing in the sacrament, and whoever believes these very words has what they declare and state, namely, “forgiveness of sins.”

Who, then, receives this sacrament worthily? Answer:

Fasting and bodily preparation are in fact a fine external discipline, but a person who has faith in these words, “given for you” and “shed for you for the forgiveness of sins,” is really worthy and well prepared. However, a person who does not believe these words or doubts them is unworthy and unprepared, because the words “for you” require truly believing hearts.

Luther, *Enchiridion*<sup>72</sup>

The *Enchiridion* taught not only a narrative of the Last Supper—which the majority of Evangelical catechisms did—but also to find in that narrative the answers to questions as to “benefit,” effect, and who might receive it. Its silences were perhaps equally significant. It did not, for example, explicate what “Do this” might encompass for the living community of Christians.

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72 Luther, “The Small Catechism,” *The Book of Concord*, 362–3.

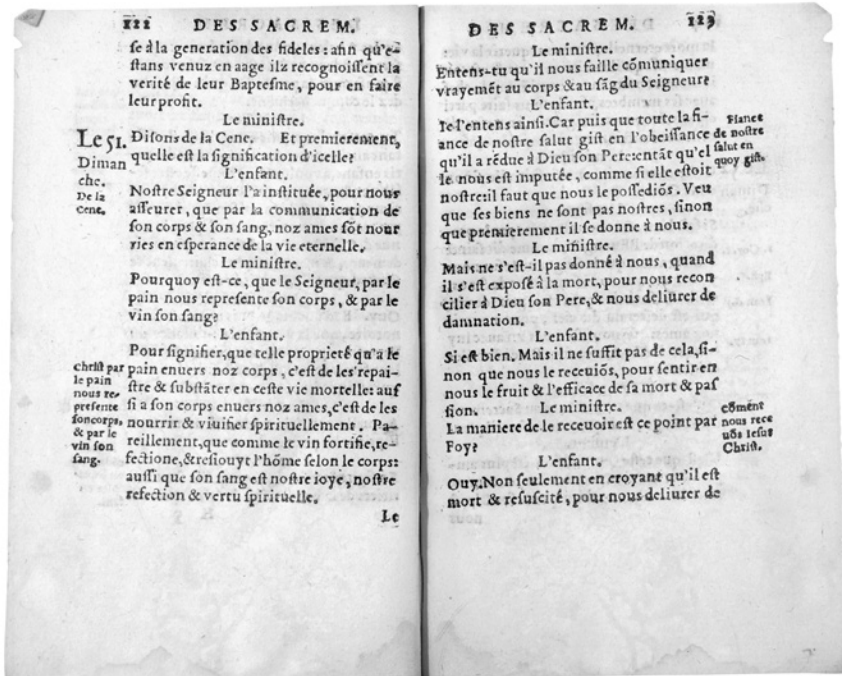


FIGURE 90 John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME* // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'in-//struire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre inter-//roge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549), 122–23. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

On the 51st Sunday of 55 (Fig. 90), the Genevan Catechism turned to “the Supper”. The very first question was its “signification”:

Child.

Our Lord instituted it, in order to assure us, that by the communication of his body and his blood, our souls are nourished in the hope of the life eternal.<sup>73</sup>

That Sunday was spent in consideration of the relationship of the bread and the wine to the body and the blood of Christ:

73 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 99.

Minister.

Why is it, that the Lord by the bread represents to us his body, and by the wine, his blood?

Child.

To signify, that by the same property that the bread enters our bodies, to feed and give them sustenance in this mortal life, his body enters our souls, to nourish and vivify them spiritually. In parallel manner, as the wine fortifies, repairs, and restores a human being's body, so, too, his blood is our spiritual joy, repair and power.

Minister.

Do you mean that we really [vrayement] communicate the body and blood of the Lord?

Child.

I do mean that. For since the whole truth of our salvation consists in the obedience he has rendered to God his Father, and given that it is imputed to us, if it is to be ours, it is necessary that we possess it. Seeing that his goods are not ours, unless he first gives them to us.

The Minister then asked, why the one sacrifice on the cross did not "suffice", and the Child answered that one must receive "to sense in ourselves the fruit and the efficacy of his death and passion".

Minister.

Is not Faith the manner of receiving him?

Child.

Yes. Not only in believing that he is dead and resurrected, in order to deliver us from eternal death and acquire life, but also that he inhabits [habite] us, and is conjoined with us as such a union of head with its members, that we may participate in all his graces, by power of this conjoining.<sup>74</sup>

On the 52nd Sunday, catechesis turned to the Supper itself:

Minister.

This communion, it is not done without the Supper?

Child.

Yes, indeed. For we have through the preaching of the Gospel, as St. Paul says, that the Lord Jesus has promised us, that we are bones of his bones,

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74 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catechisms*, 99–100.

flesh of his flesh; that he is the bread of life, which descends from the heavens, to nourish our souls that we are one with him as he is one with his Father; and such things.

Minister.

What more is it that we have in the sacrament, and how does it serve us more?

Child.

It is that this communion is more amply confirmed in us, as though ratified. For however Jesus Christ may be truly communicated to us and by baptism and by the Gospel, it is but a part, not in fullness.

Minister.

What is it then, in sum, that we have in the sign of the bread?

Child.

It is that the body of the Lord Jesus, just as it was offered one time in sacrifice in order to reconcile us to God, is given us now to certify to us that we are a part of this reconciliation.

Minister.

What is it that we have in the sign of the wine?

Child.

That the Lord Jesus gives us his blood to drink, just as he had shed it one time for the price and satisfaction of our offences, to the end that we do not doubt of receiving the fruit.<sup>75</sup>

The Supper, catechesis continued, directed the faithful to the death and passion of Christ, to the “unique and perpetual sacrifice done for our redemption”.

Minister.

Then the Supper was not instituted to make an oblation of the body of Jesus to God his Father?

Child.

No. For there is no one other than he himself to whom this office pertains, for he is the eternal Sacrificer. But he commands us solely to receive his body, and not to offer it.<sup>76</sup>

On the 53rd Sunday, catechesis took up the signs of the Supper.

Minister.

Why is there a double sign?

<sup>75</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 100–1.

<sup>76</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 101.

Child.

Our Lord did this for our infirmity, in order to give us to know that he is not only the meat to our souls, but also the drink, that we may seek in him our full and entire nourishment, and nowhere else.<sup>77</sup>

Catechesis then taught that Christ had offered the second sign, the wine, “without difference” to humankind, “following Jesus Christ’s commandment”.<sup>78</sup>

Minister.

Do we have in the Supper simply the witness of the things previously said, or are they truly given in it?

Child.

Just as Jesus Christ is the truth, it does not allow doubt that the promises which he makes in the Supper are not there accomplished, and that that which he figures is not there made true [verifié]. So, too, following what he promises and represents, it cannot be doubted that he makes us participants of his own substance, to unite us with faith in one life.

Minister.

But how may this be done, seeing that the body of Jesus Christ is in heaven, and we are in this earthly pilgrimage?

Child.

It is by the incomprehensible power of his spirit, which conjoins things separated by distance of place.

Minister.

You do not mean, that the body is enclosed within the bread or the blood in the chalice.

Child.

No, to the contrary: in order to have the truth of the sacrament he would have us lift our hearts to heaven, where Jesus Christ is in the glory of his Father and where he awaits us in our redemption; and not seek it in these corruptible elements.

Minister.

You mean then, that there are two things in this sacrament: the material bread and the wine, which we see with the eyes, touch with the hand, and savor the taste; and Jesus Christ, by whom our souls are internally nourished.

<sup>77</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 102.

<sup>78</sup> Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 102.



Child.

Indeed. And in such a kind nevertheless that we have the same testimony, and like a mark [arre] of the resurrection of our bodies just as they are made participants in the sign of life.<sup>79</sup>

On the 54th Sunday, catechesis took up proper practice. Following St. Paul, it began with self-examination, whether one was a “true member of Jesus Christ”, which was known by the “signs”: “true Faith, and repentance, love of neighbor in true charity, and not soiled by rancor or division”. Even as the faithful should strive for full and authentic faith, the Supper would have been instituted in vain, if none were capable of receiving it, unless perfect.

Minister.

These two sacraments [baptism and the Supper] serve no other end?

Child.

Yes, they are also the signs and marks of our profession, that is to say, that by them, we protest, that we are the people of God, and make confession of our Christianity.<sup>80</sup>

The remainder of that Sunday treated both sacraments, teaching that “by baptism, God introduces and receives us into his Church. After we have been received, he signifies to us, through the Supper, that he will continually nourish us”.<sup>81</sup> On the last Sunday of catechesis, the 55th, the Catechism taught that those charged with public preaching of the Gospel are to administer baptism and the Supper, “for these things are conjoined”. Baptism, which in the present practice was offered to infants, did not require discretion on the part of ministers, to whom they should administer this sacrament; but ministers should be able to know, who was not worthy to receive the sacrament of the Supper—this would pollute and dishonor the sacrament. The Catechism ended with a consideration of hypocrisy and the judgment of the congregation:

Child.

The minister may not exclude [hypocrites], like the unworthy, but wait, until the Lord has revealed their wickedness.

Minister.

And if he knows who among them are unworthy or he has been advised?

79 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 102–3.

80 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 104.

81 Calvin, “Le Catéchisme de l’Église de Genève,” *Confessions et catéchismes*, 104.

Child.

That is not sufficient to exclude, unless he has sufficient approval and judgment of the Church.

The Catechism's final question called for a well-regulated Church, certain persons deputized to watch for scandals and those who commit them, and granted the authority to exclude from Communion those who "are in no way capable of it and who, were they to receive it, would dishonor God and scandalize the faithful".<sup>82</sup>

Under the subheading, "On the holy Supper of Jesus Christ", the Heidelberg Catechism posed eight questions. Their answers are among the lengthiest in the Catechism.

Question 75. How are you reminded and assured in the holy supper that you participate in the one sacrifice of Christ on the cross and in all his benefits?

In this way: Christ has commanded me and all believers to eat of this broken bread, and to drink of this cup in remembrance of him. He has thereby promised that his body was offered and broken on the cross for me, and his blood was shed for me, as surely as I see with my eyes that the bread of the Lord is broken for me, and that the cup is shared with me. Also, he has promised that he himself as certainly feeds and nourishes my soul to everlasting life with his crucified body and shed blood as I receive from the hand of the minister and actually taste the bread and the cup of the Lord which are given to me as sure signs of the body and blood of Christ.

Question 76. What does it mean to eat the crucified body of Christ and to drink his shed blood?

It is not only to embrace with a trusting heart the whole passion and death of Christ, and by it to receive the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. In addition, it is to be so united more and more to his blessed body by the Holy Spirit dwelling both in Christ and in us that, although he is in heaven and we are on earth, we are nevertheless flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, always living and being governed by one Spirit, as the members of our bodies are governed by one soul.<sup>83</sup>

82 Calvin, "Le Catéchisme de l'Église de Genève," *Confessions et catéchismes*, 105.

83 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 151.

The next question provided a narrative of the Last Supper drawn, as the marginalia indicated, from 1. Corinthians 11, Matthew 26, Mark 14, and Luke 22. In both German and Latin editions, the narrative was printed in larger font.

The Heidelberg Catechism then turned to the relationship of the bread and the wine to the body and blood of Christ:

Question 78. Do the bread and wine become the very body and blood of Christ?

No, for as the water in baptism is not changed into the blood of Christ, nor becomes the washing away of sins by itself, but is only a divine sign and confirmation of it, so also in the Lord's supper the sacred bread does not become the body of Christ itself, although, in accordance with the nature and usage of sacraments, it is called the body of Christ.

Question 79. Then why does Christ call the bread his body, and the cup his blood, or the new covenant in his blood, and why does the apostle Paul call the supper "a means of sharing" in the body and blood of Christ?

Christ does not speak in this way except for a strong reason. He wishes to teach us by it that as bread and wine sustain this temporal life so his crucified body and shed blood are the true food and drink of our souls for eternal life. Even more, he wishes to assure us by this visible sign and pledge that we come to share in his true body and blood through the working of the Holy Spirit as surely as we receive with our mouth these holy tokens in remembrance of him, and that all his sufferings and his death are our own as certainly as if we had ourselves suffered and rendered satisfaction in our own persons.<sup>84</sup>

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84 "The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)," *Confessions and Catechisms*, 152–3. In subsequent editions, the following question followed this one:

"Question 80. What difference is there between the Lord's supper and the papal Mass?

The Lord's supper testifies to us that we have complete forgiveness of all our sins through the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ which he himself has accomplished on the cross once for all; (and that through the Holy Spirit we are incorporated into Christ, who is now in heaven with his true body at the right hand of the Father and is there to be worshiped). But the Mass teaches that the living and the dead do not have forgiveness of sins through the sufferings of Christ unless Christ is again offered for them daily by the priest (and that Christ is bodily under the form of bread and wine and is therefore to be worshiped in them). Therefore the Mass is fundamentally a complete denial of the once for all sacrifice and passion of Jesus Christ (and as such an idolatry to be condemned)."

The last two questions on the Supper concerned those who were permitted to receive:

Question 81. Who ought to come to the table of the Lord?

Those who are displeased with themselves for their sins, and who nevertheless trust that these sins have been forgiven them and that their remaining weakness is covered by the passion and death of Christ, and who also desire more and more to strengthen their faith and improve their life. The impenitent and hypocrites, however, eat and drink judgment to themselves.

Question 82. Should those who show themselves to be unbelievers and enemies of God by their confession and life be admitted to this supper?

No, for then the covenant of God would be profaned and his wrath provoked against the whole congregation. According to the ordinance of Christ and his apostles, therefore, the Christian church is under obligation, by the office of the keys, to exclude such persons until they amend their lives.<sup>85</sup>

Like the Genevan Catechism, the Heidelberg taught the catechumen both to attach specific connotations to “unworthy”, drawn from Paul, and the notion of excommunication—exclusion from the Supper—which was to be applied to those “who show themselves unbelievers and enemies of God”. The Supper, in both Catechisms, belonged to the faithful.

## Conclusion

In the world in which the Van der Weyden had been painted, the altarpiece might have served as a prompt for catechesis, an illustration of the seven a catechumen might be asked to name. Sitting on an altar, it presented to the eyes of all who attended the sacrament of Communion the living connection among Christ, priest, seven sacraments, and Christian. Aquinas’s sermons were given and recorded in the visual environment of churches; they assumed the ongoing experience of sacraments—his task was not to found knowledge, but to increase and refine it.

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According to the notes in the Noll edition, “This question was not in the first edition of the catechism. It was added to the second edition; the material in parentheses is from the third edition”, 153.

85 “The Heidelberg Catechism (1563),” *Confessions and Catechisms*, 153.

In a world in which churches were being “cleansed” and reconsecrated, in which the faithful might be able to worship in the churches of their childhoods, but also, might not, might find themselves in an alien landscape, the sacraments became detached from place, from the visual environments of churches, from the familiarity of ancient movements and cadences. In a world bitterly divided over the nature, purpose, and effect of sacraments, pastors preached and small codices taught that the danger of “unworthiness” lay in a false understanding—not in mortal sins, not in sins of any kind, but in wrong knowledge. Those small codices sought to teach Christians how to understand the sacraments they experienced—they sought to teach the knowledge that constituted “worthiness”. Their words, black ink on cheap paper, were to ground and to frame how a Christian witnessed and received sacraments. Memorized, those words were to inform the mind and the eyes that witnessed.

In the exigencies of the sixteenth century, placing the sacraments in codicil catechisms materialized changes both in what constituted knowledge of the sacraments and in the relationship of sacraments to texts. Knowledge of the sacraments in the Churches of Cansius's catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms was to begin with a definition of “sacrament” in the abstract. Knowledge of the sacraments in Luther's catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms was to be grounded in Scripture: it provided not only the authorization for the sacraments that a Church celebrated, but the narrative, the moments in the life of Christ when he did those acts that were the model, the originating movements of “sacrament”. Scripture was to frame what Christians saw.<sup>86</sup> Luther's catechisms, the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms did not refer beyond themselves to the lived experience of sacraments; Canisius's *Little Catechism* pointed toward, but did not explicate the “ceremony” of sacraments. No catechism invited its reader to acquire “knowledge” of the sacraments through the reception of them.

Of the four catechisms considered here, three taught “the sacraments” in a single chapter. The choice may have seemed traditional—no sixteenth-century author of catechisms called attention to the presence of a chapter on sacraments. For most authors of sixteenth-century catechisms, definition and number were far more important, as was teaching the scriptural texts for sacraments. But structurally, “the sacraments” became a component of Christian knowledge analogous to the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. In binding sacraments with the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's

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86 Cf. Werner Wolf, “Introduction: Frames, Framings and Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media,” in *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Studies in Intermediality 1)(Amsterdam, 2006), 1–40.

Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, catechisms affiliated what had been words, sounds, gestures—movements physical and metaphysical—with texts, doctrine. In not referring beyond themselves, they taught “sacraments” as originating in a codex, not in gesture, movement, or place. “Sacraments” could be defined by words, learned in a codex, then received “worthily” by a Christian in possession of “true knowledge”.



## Images

### The Visuality of the Page

The focus of all catechesis was words: the words of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the sacraments. Some catechisms, like the Strasbourg *Isagoge*, presented the eyes of their readers with a thicket of words (Fig. 2): as many words as the page could hold, unbroken by paragraph, spacing, font, or font size. But in most Reformation catechisms, including editions of Canisius' and Luther's catechisms and the Heidelberg and Genevan Catechisms, the words were not simply visible—black type on the page—they were visual (Figs. passim).

'Image' does not normally connote a printed page with no figurative or decorative woodcuts or engravings, but this chapter begins with the viscosity of the page, because so many—whether author, as in the case of Calvin,<sup>1</sup> or printer, as in the case of Christopher Plantin for Canisius's catechisms<sup>2</sup>—deployed font and font size, spacing and placement to shape catechesis.<sup>3</sup> For them, different font sizes might image forth the difference between human speech and divine (Fig. 91).<sup>4</sup> Sacred texts could be centered on a page, framed by white margins,

1 See, for example, John Calvin, *LE CATECHISME // de Geneue: c'est à dire le formulaire d'instruire les enfans en la Chrestienté, // fait en maniere de dialogue, // où le Ministre interroge, & l'Enfant // respond. // Par M. Iean Caluin. // Ephe. 2. // Le fondement de l'Eglise est la doctrine // des Prophetes & des Apostres* (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1549).

2 See, for example, Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // ET // EXERCITAMENTA // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1566), and later editions.

3 Warren Chappell and Robert Bringhurst, *A Short History of the Printed Word* (Point Roberts, WA, 1999); Frans A. Janssen, *Technique and Design in the History of Printing* ('t-Goy-Houten, 2004); Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester, 2010); Lee Palmer Wandel, "Catechisms: Teaching the Eye to Read the World," in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Feike Dietz et al. (Farnham, 2014), 53–76.

4 In addition to editions of the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms and Johannes Meckhart, *CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christliche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), see for example, Anonymous, *Catechismus // Das ist / ain anfencklicher bericht der Christlichen Religion vō den Dienern des Euan-gelions zuo Augspurg / für die Jugent // auff das kürtest verfasst // vnnd beschriben* (N.p.: n.p., 1533); Leo Jud, *Catechismus // Christliche klare vnd einfalte // ynleytung in den Willen vnnd in // die Gnad Gottes* (Zurich: Christoph Froshauer, [1534]); *Catechismus- // Oder christlicher kinder // bericht / in fragßweiß / vom Glaubē // Vatter vnser / Zehen Gebotten / vnd Sa=*

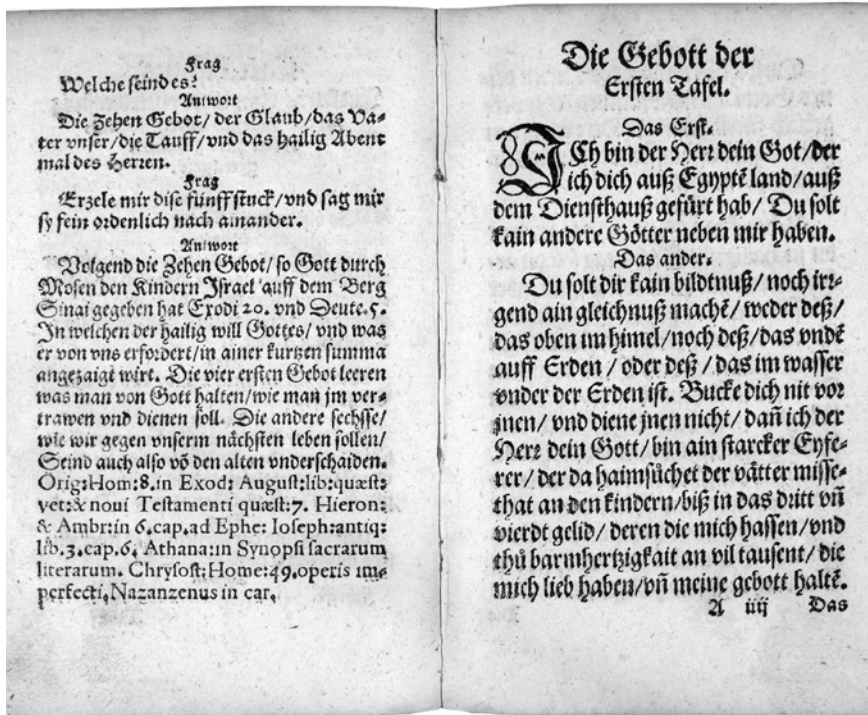


FIGURE 91 Johannes Meckhart, *CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ-//liche Leer und  
underweysung // für die Jugent* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557), Aiiṛ–Aiiiii. Staats-  
und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

visually discrete, images of divine speech.<sup>5</sup> Questions might be printed in different type font: a number of editions of Canisius's *Little Catechism* presented questions in italics, answers in Roman font. Placement as well as spacing distinguished questions from answers: Canisius's catechisms centered questions and formatted answers in paragraphs with justified margins, even as they also separated questions and answers by spacing (Fig. 92).<sup>6</sup>

cramenten / kurtzlich gestalt vnnd ett=//was gebessert / Zuo Vlm inn der // Pfarr geprediget  
(Ulm: Hans Varnier der Älter, 1546).

5 See, for example, Anonymous, *Catechismus* // Das ist / ain anfencklicher bericht der  
Christ//lichen Religion vñ den Dienern des Euan=//gelions zuo Augspurg / für die Jugent //  
auff das kürztzest verfasst // vnnd beschriben (N.p.: n.p., 1533).

6 Petrus Canisius, *PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM*, in Petro de Soto,  
*COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI=// NAE CATHOLICAE*, // in vsum plebis Christianae// recte  
instituendae...// ACCESSIT IN HAC //editione Paruus Catechismus Ca=//tholicorum,

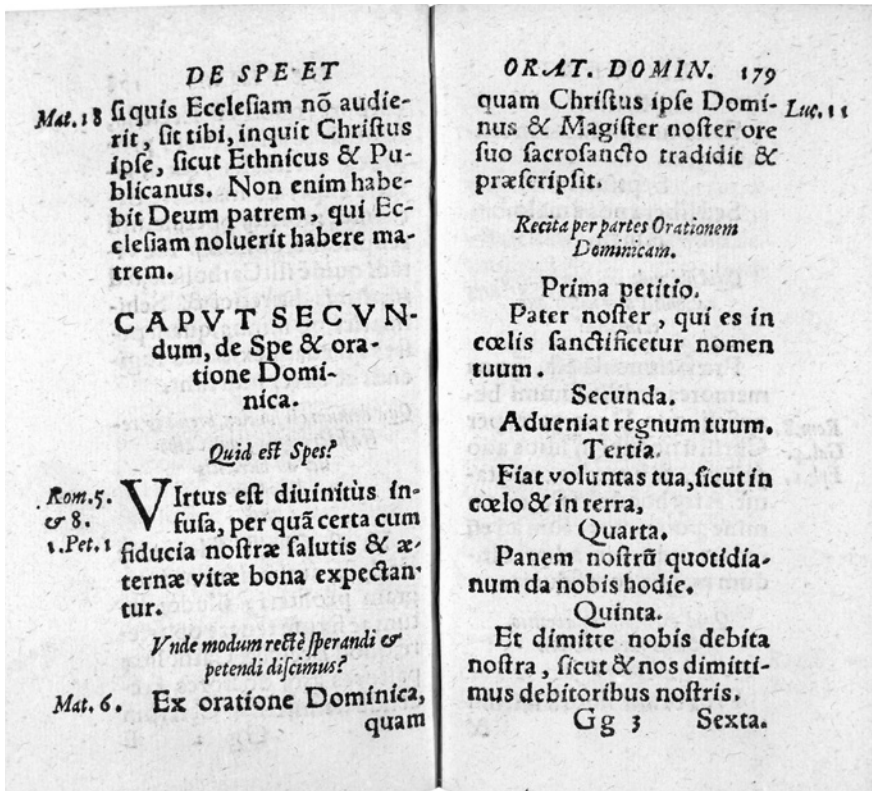


FIGURE 92 Peter Canisius, *PARVVS // CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM*, in Petro de Soto, *COMPENDIVM // DOCTRI-// NAE CATHOLICAE, // in vsum plebis Christianae // recte instituendae . . . // ACCESSIT IN HAC // editione Paruus Catechismus Ca-// tholicorum, auctore D. PE-//TRO CANISIO* (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564), 178<sup>v</sup>–179. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Authors drew on the visualities of the page to shape how that page then became embodied (Fig. 92). Spacing visualized discrete voices—master and child, father and son, teacher and student.<sup>7</sup> Punctuation marked phrases and sentences—the places where the catechumen was taught to divide one cluster

auctore D. PE-//TRO CANISIO (Dillingen: Sebaldus Mayer, 1564), 178<sup>v</sup>–179. See also Johannes Meckhart, *CATECHISMVS. // Ain kurtze Christ-//liche Leer und underweysung // für die Jugent* (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1557).

7 In addition to the catechisms of Canisius and Luther, and the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms, see, for example, Johannes Brenz, *CATECHIS-//MVS IOANNIS BRENTII PER // modum Dialogi concinna-//tus* (Tübingen: Ulrich Morhart, 1538).

of words from the next, to take breath and in so doing, mark him or herself as belonging to one Church and not another. A page could visualize the integrity of a single sacred text—Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer—as it did in some editions of the Genevan Catechism, or its component parts, as it did in editions of Canisius's catechism. The catechumen was to learn, following the visual cues of the page, the Apostles' Creed as a single sentence or twelve, one breath or twelve. Visually differentiated, words were to be differently embodied: a breath taken at one point, but not another; specific words spoken together in one Church, spoken in breathed sequences in another; the flow of a clause or a sentence connecting certain words into segments of meaning in one Church, a different phrasing or syntax connecting words into different segments of meaning for another.

If many, many sixteenth-century catechisms testify to the authors' and/or the publishers' attention to the visualities of the page, it was the visuality of words. Evangelical and Catholic, printers and authors called attention to words (Fig. 93).<sup>8</sup> Some editions did so by pages free of any visual forms other than font and spacing. Editions of the Genevan and Heidelberg, presumably guided by the Second Commandment that they taught, eschewed all figurative, allegorical, or emblematic art, even as their pages represented God's Word in font and placement. Some, such as the *Isagoge*, Urbanus Rhegius's *Catechismus* and a Dutch Catholic catechism,<sup>9</sup> called attention to words by the use of decorated initials. Some, such as the anonymous Strasbourg catechism (Fig. 93), were printed with decorative borders framing the words on each page.<sup>10</sup>

8 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]).

9 DE PVERIS // INSTITVENDIS ECCLE- // siæ Argentinensis // Isagoge (Strasbourg: n.p., 1527), A2; Urbanus Rhegius, CATECHIS//MVS MINOR PVERORVM // generos puero Ottoni Furster // dicatus (Halle: Petrus Brubach, 1536); CATECHIMVS. // OFT // Die somme der chri=//stelicke onder=//wijsinghen / // in corte met vraghē ende antwoorden // den christen ionghers leered al 'tghene // dat sij behoeren te weten / te ghelooouen / // ende te doene om salich te worden : wt=//ghegheuen eerst int latijn / ende in die // ouerelantsche sprake door d'beuel des // Co. Ma. van Boomen / Hunga=//rien (Leuven: Merten Verhasselt, 1558).

10 On borders in illuminated manuscripts, see Anja Grebe, "Frames and Illusion: The Function of Borders in Late Medieval Book Illumination," in *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Studies in Intermediality 1) (Amsterdam, 2006), 43–68.



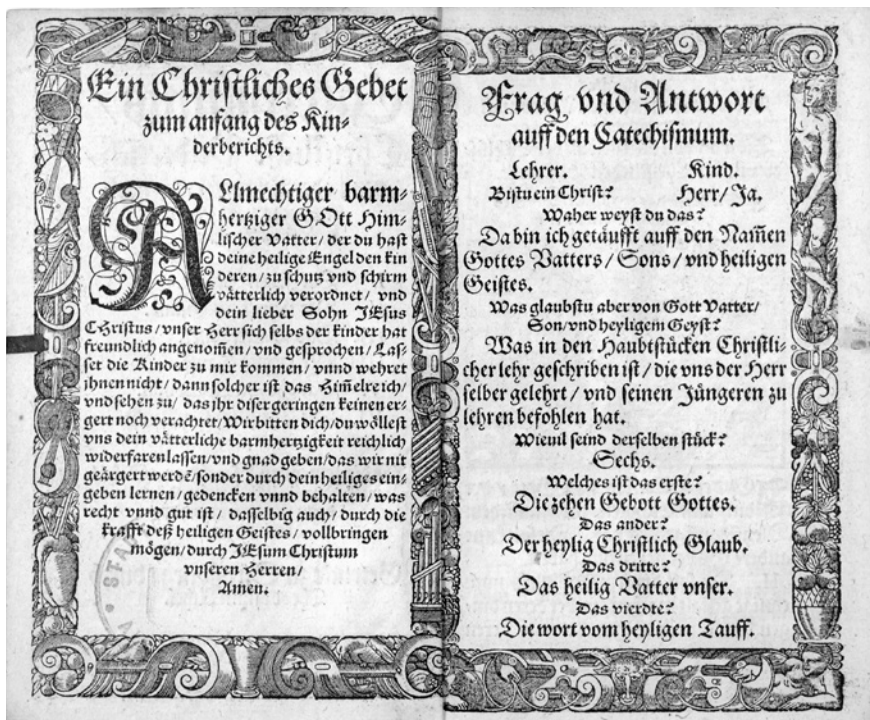


FIGURE 93 *Catechismus /// Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst* (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

### Text, Woodcuts, and Engravings in the Codex

Neither Catholics nor Evangelicals trusted images alone to teach what a Christian needed to know. Though Pedro de Gante's pictograph catechism seems to have been known in Europe, it had been intended and designed for the western hemisphere—it never circulated in the numbers of Canisius's catechisms and never became a model for European catechesis.<sup>11</sup> No Church promulgated a picture catechism in the sixteenth century such as had been in

11 Justino Cortés Castellanos, *El Catechismo en Pictogramas de Fray Pedro de Gante* (Madrid, 1987); Luis Resines, *Catechismos Pictográficos de Pedro de Gante, Incompleto y Mucagua* (Madrid, 2007).



FIGURE 94 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 50–51. Museum Plantin-Moretus.

use in the medieval Church.<sup>12</sup> Even Plantin's beautiful 1589 edition of Canisius's *Institutiones* (Figs. 94–99, 101–3), for which he commissioned engravings from

12 On medieval picture catechisms, see Johannes Geffcken, *Der Bildercatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die catechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther*, II. Die zehn Gebote (Leipzig, 1855); Peter Göbl, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfall der Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempten, 1880), 268–81; Hedwig Munscheck, *Die Concordantiae caritatis des Ulrich von Lilienfeld* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 85–112. Ulrich Rehm, *Bebilderte Vaterunsererklärungen des Mittelalters* (Saecula Spiritalia 28) (Baden-Baden, 1994), which includes, in black and white, a large number of medieval manuscripts, single-sheet prints, and block book pages, all of which provide striking visual contrasts, in the plural, to the relationship of word and image on the pages of sixteenth-century catechisms. For additional examples of single images that might have been used in catechesis, see Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* vol. 4.1: Die Kirche (Gütersloh, 1976), plates 280, 283, 292, 296, 324, 361–370.





ARTIC. III.

Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus  
ex Maria virgine.

*Proponit mysterium Dominice incarnationis, quia  
idem Dei filius humanam naturam virtute Spiritus  
Sancti, ex Maria Virgine illibata assumpsit.*

MATTH.

FIGURE 95 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 11. Museum Plantin-Moretus.



A R T I C. IIII.

Passus sub Pontio Pilato, Crucifixus,  
mortuus & sepultus.

*Tractat mysterium redemptionis humanae : nam  
idem Dei filius, secundum humanam naturam, ex-  
trema est passus pro nobis, in crucem suffixus, in  
cruce mortuus, & deinde sepultus.*

M A T.

FIGURE 96 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 13. Museum Plantin-Moretus.





FIGURE 97 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 25. Museum Plantin-Moretus.

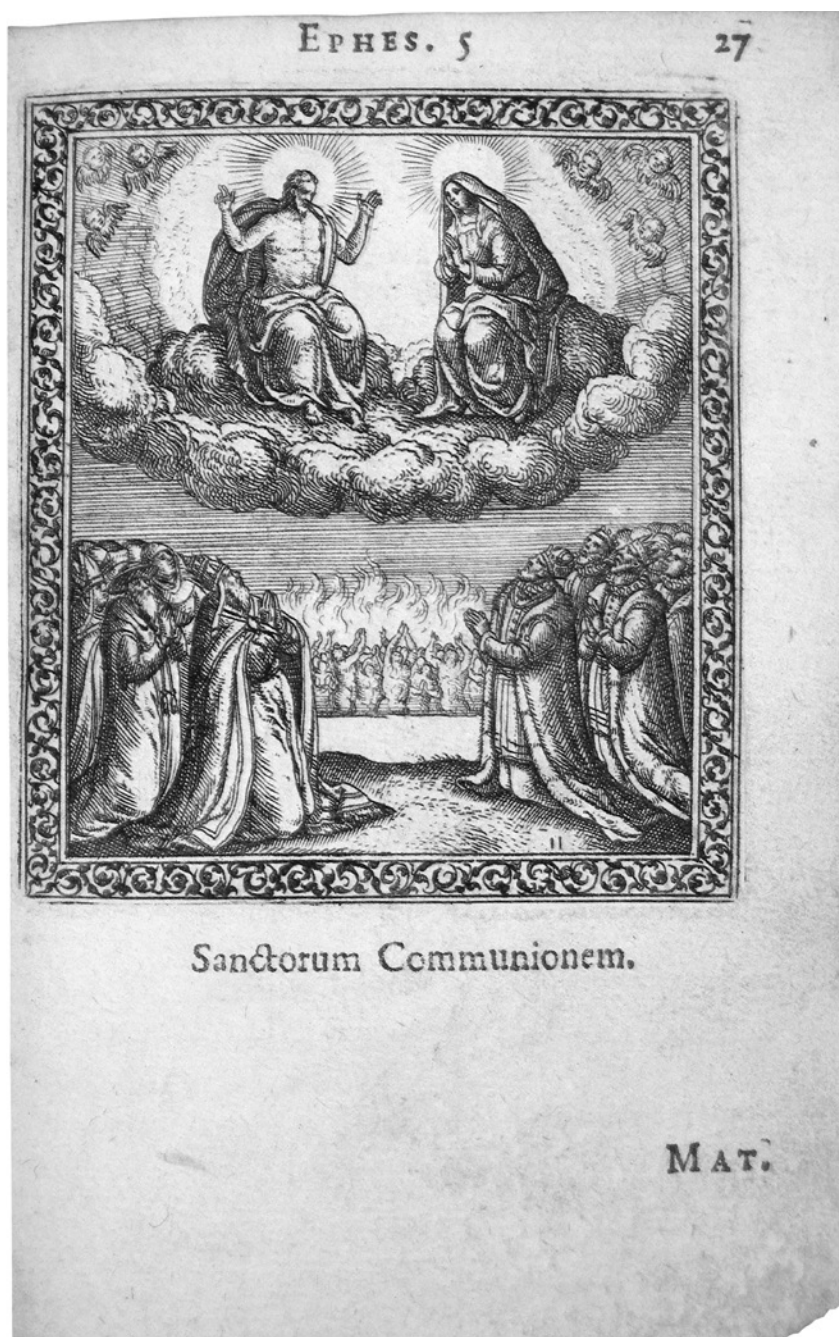


FIGURE 98 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 27. Museum Plantin-Moretus.

Pieter van der Borch, embedded those images in Canisius's questions and answers.<sup>13</sup>

This edition has been called the first Jesuit picture catechism.<sup>14</sup> According to Léon Voet, Plantin had commissioned engravings from Van der Borch first for a 1588 edition of Canisius's *Manuale catholicorum*.<sup>15</sup> For Plantin's 1589 edition of Canisius's *Small Catechism*, Van der Borch provided, in the case of the Apostles' Creed, visualizations of sacred history, of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit. In following the traditional division of the Creed, Canisius also made possible that the articles would be accompanied by images drawing on long visual traditions such as the Annunciation (Fig. 95),<sup>16</sup> the Passion (Fig. 96), the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Last Judgment—each of which Van der Borch rendered in an engraving. The last articles of the Creed afforded a different opportunity for visualization: “the Church” in a time of fragmentation (Figure 97) and “the communion of saints” (Figure 98). Both visually affiliated the ancient words with the papal and imperial hierarchies, which were subsumed, in the second engraving, beneath Christ and his mother.

Van der Borch's engravings did not, however, reflect a consistent tradition, even for Canisius's catechisms. His rendering of “carnis resurrectionem” (Fig. 99) gave far greater emphasis to *carnis* than did an earlier woodcut (Fig. 100), also published in Antwerp, but by Johannes Bellerus, which rendered Christ alone as resurrected—no bones, no skulls, no corpulent bodies in various states of rising.

13 INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589). A reproduction can be found in *S. Petri Canisii Doctoris Ecclesiae Catechismi Latini et Germanici*, ed. Friedrich Streicher, s.j., Part. 1: *Catechismi Latini* (Rome, 1933), 273–399. Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vol. II (Amsterdam, 1981), 548–9, number 884. On the engravings, see Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2008), 272–5.

14 Rita Haub considers Plantin's edition of Canisius's catechism published under the title, *Institutiones christianae, seu parvus catechismus catholicorum*, the first Jesuit picture catechism, “Bey was Zeichen erkennt man einen katholischen Christen? Illustrationen im Bilderkatechismus des Petrus Canisius,” in *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern: Einfluss und Wirkung*, ed. Peter M. Daly, G. Richard Dimler, SJ, and Rita Haub (Imago Figurata 3) (Turnhout, 2000), 70.

15 Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II: 548–9, number 890. A 1589 edition of the *Manuale* survives in the Museum Plantin-Moretus.

16 INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589).



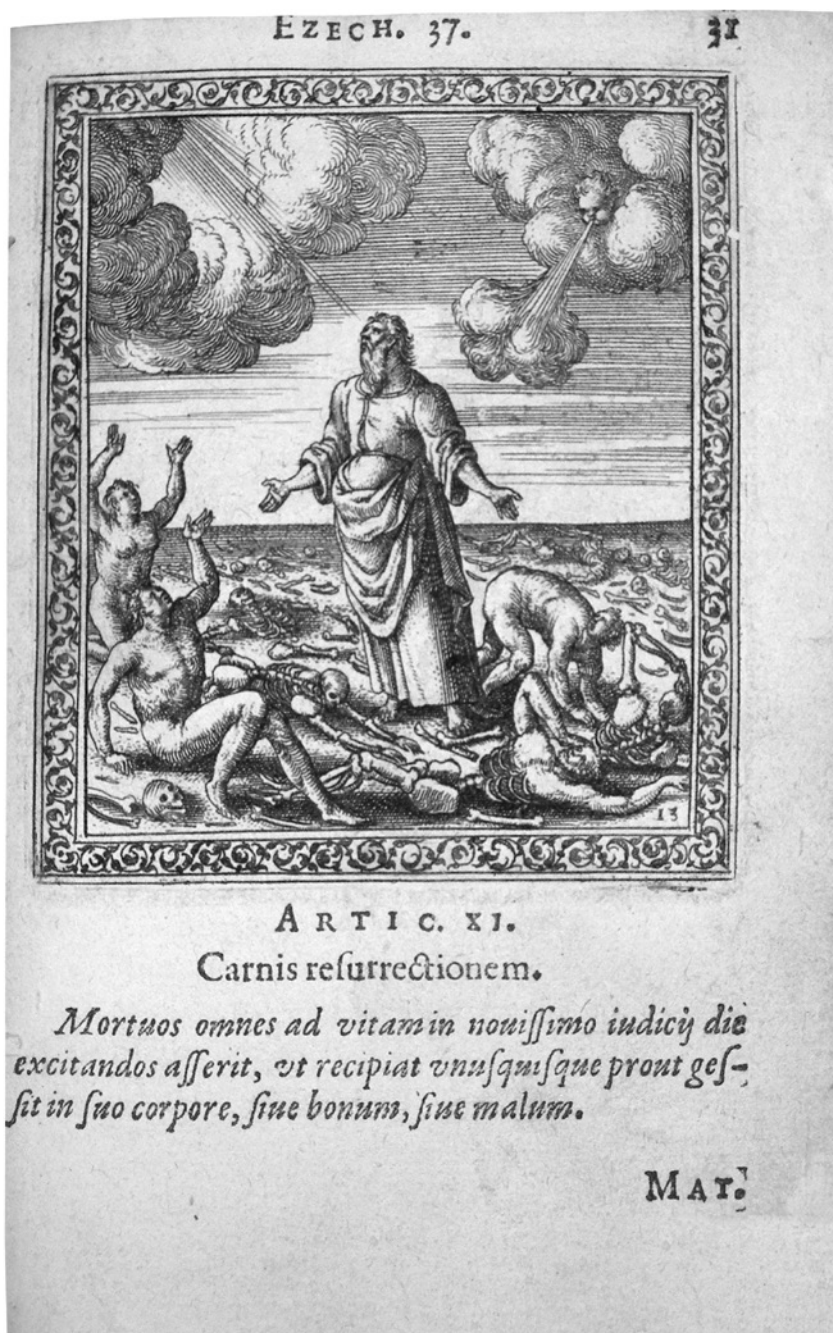


FIGURE 99 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 31. Museum Plantin-Moretus.





FIGURE 100 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 14–15. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

For the Ten Commandments, Van der Borch drew on visual traditions for the Old Testament, placing a calf—not a sculpted human figure—on the pedestal in the engraving for the First Commandment (Fig. 94). Plantin also provided the Old Testament Book and chapter, so that the catechumen might read the biblical narrative for which the engraving might then serve mnemonically or iconically.

For the sacraments, Van der Borch provided an enactment of each as it was practiced in the late sixteenth-century Catholic Church, differentiating clergy by their dress—mitre, stole, cap, habit (Figs. 101–3). In visualizing clerical vestments, the images also taught the catechumen to affiliate sacrament and clergy, to see clergy as the visible actors in the sacrament. Even the sacrament of marriage had a priest at center (Fig. 103). Van der Borch provided an engraving for each of the sacraments, as well as for each of the components of “Catholic knowledge” that Canisius’s catechisms taught. In this, engravings served two purposes: to mark more dramatically the distinctive components of that knowledge; and to provide the catechumen, following Jesuit teaching, with



POENITENTIA.

Huius figura fuit leprosi mundati Sacerdoti  
facta ostensio. LEVIT. 14.

*Hoc sacramento, quod tribus partibus constat, Con-  
tritione, seu animi dolore; Confessione, sine peccatorū  
coram sacerdote explicatione; & Satisfactione, seu pu-  
nitione criminum, peccata post baptismum admissa,  
remittuntur.*

EXTRE-

FIGURE 101 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 79. Museum Plantin-Moretus.





FIGURE 102 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1589), 81. Museum Plantin-Moretus.



FIGURE 103

Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANÆ, // seu //*  
*PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp:  
 Christopher Plantin, 1589), 85. Museum Plantin-Moretus.

visual means to remember.<sup>17</sup> In this, Plantin's editions with Van der Borcht's engravings were anomalous, differing not simply from all other Catholic catechisms, but even from other editions of Canisius's catechisms.

Even this catechism, arguably the most famous catechism published with images in the sixteenth century, did not present the engravings as self-sufficient for catechesis. Exempla and images of sacred history might have much in common with medieval picture catechisms, but they were embedded in the text of Canisius's catechism—its questions and answers, its structuring of the ancient texts, and, perhaps most important, its explication of the “meaning” of the words. These images, the most skilled of all images published in sixteenth-century catechisms, bring visualizations to the words, but are not so placed that they might be viewed apart from words. The visually rich engravings could serve as visual prompts or mnemonically for the texts, they could bring visual associations, even content to the words, but they were not set alone on a page—printed words accompanied them, providing an established text to anchor their role in catechesis.

### Woodcuts and Words

Even as analysis has articulated a rich array of relationships between woodcuts or engravings on the page and texts on the same page,<sup>18</sup> we have few words to name the page which contains both words and woodcut or engraving, ‘illustrated’ being perhaps the most prevalent. But ‘illustrated’ signifies a particular relationship between woodcut and word, implying that the woodcut is

17 On Jesuit image theory, see Pierre-Antoine Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola: le lieu de l'image* (Paris, 1992); Walter Melion, “The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*,” Introduction to *Jerome Nadal, S.J. Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, vol. 1: *The Infancy Narratives*, trans. Frederick A. Homann, S.J. (Philadelphia, 2003), 1–96; Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem: Status, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva, 2005).

18 In addition to the work on Jesuit image theory and emblems, see James Clifton and Walter Melion, eds., *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 2009); Celeste Brusati, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Walter Melion, eds., *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden, 2012); Feike Dietz et al., eds., *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800* (Farnham, 2014). A separate line of inquiry has been texts in images. See, for example, Mia Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm* (Aldershot, 2008); Alison R. Flett, “The Significance of Text Scrolls: Towards a Descriptive Terminology,” in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Chur, 1991), 43–53.

subsumed to the words, serves them, does not work cognitively apart from them. The relationship of woodcut and word was, as we shall see, various—not only between catechisms, but even within individual codices. Even as publishers included scriptural references, as we have seen with the Van der Borch engravings, those references did not determine the content of the engraving or the woodcut. They offered a narrative to accompany, to inform the reading of engraving or woodcut, but the engravings and woodcuts reached beyond the page, to other visual traditions, to objects, gestures, images, and liturgy not stipulated by the text.

Words did not determine the content of woodcuts and engravings, just as woodcuts or engravings did not replace words in any sixteenth-century catechisms. Images might supplement, enrich, provide visual devices for mnemonics, but no page depended solely on an image to catechize. Nor was the relationship of image and text fixed, either across Churches or even within a single tradition. Some Evangelical catechisms, for example, such as a 1573 catechism of the Church of England or an anonymous catechism from Augsburg, were published with just one woodcut, on the title page; among those with a single woodcut, that woodcut often figured teaching.<sup>19</sup> Other catechisms, such as two of Martin Luther's catechisms in 1529, were published with an elaborate decorative frame on the title page.<sup>20</sup> The majority of Luther's *German Catechism* and *Enchiridion* was printed with numerous woodcuts<sup>21</sup>—alone

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- 19 Catechismvs // parous pueris primum Latiné // qui ediscatur, proponendus // in Scholis (London: John Day, 1573); Catechismus // Das ist / ain anfengtlicher Bericht der // Christlichen Religion vñ den Dienern // des Euangliions zuo Augsburg // für die Jugent aufs kürztzest // verfasst vñ beschribē ([Augsburg], 1533). For another example, see Catechismus/ // Oder Christenlicher Kinder // bericht / in Fragßweys / Vom Glauben / // Vatter vnser / Zehen gebotten / vnnd // Sacramenten / kurtzlich gestelt / // vnd etwas gebessert. Zuo // Vlm inn der Pfarr // geprediget (Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, n.d.).
  - 20 Martin Luther, Der Kleine || Catechismus/ Fuer || die gemeyne Pfar=||herr vnd Pre=||digger (Marburg: Franz Rhode, 1529): <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/1164-60-theol-3s/start.htm>; Martin Luther, Deütsch // Catechis-/mus. (Nuremberg: Leonhard zu der Aych, 1529): [http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11002399\\_00004.html](http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb11002399_00004.html).
  - 21 Of the 31 discrete printings of Luther's *German Catechism* before his death that Josef Benzing identified, 20, according to Benzing, were printed with multiple woodcuts, usually 24, Benzing, with Helmut Claus, *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden, 1989), 1: 298–301. Of the 11 printings of Johannes Spangenberg's adaptation, Benzing identified 4 with woodcuts, *ibid.*, 302. Of the 33 separate printings of the *Enchiridion*, 18 were published with woodcuts, *ibid.*, 303–6, and all were German editions of the *Enchiridion*. Of the Latin translations of the two catechisms, possibly two versions of the *Enchiridion* may have been printed with woodcuts, otherwise, none were printed with interior woodcuts, according to Benzing.



among all sixteenth-century catechisms—but none of his catechisms was consistently reproduced with the same woodcuts. Nor were woodcuts or engravings consistently published with scriptural references such as can be found accompanying Van der Borcht's engravings or, as we shall see, woodcuts in some of Luther's catechisms. No author and no publisher was concerned to fix woodcuts in anything like the same ways they sought to set the wording of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, or the Apostles' Creed: not in their content, not in their placement, not even the scriptural locus for which, the page might suggest, they were a visualization.

The following, then, seeks to suggest something of the kinds of interplay of woodcut and words in sixteenth-century catechisms. If Luther's catechisms are the primary focus—no other author, no other Church published as many catechisms with woodcuts—examples of unique codicil catechisms, such as the anonymous Strasbourg Catechism, or singular publications of Canisius's catechisms, the Sebald Mayer 1563 edition and Bellerus 1575 edition, are evidence of the sheer fluidities of sixteenth-century catechisms and remind us that there were other possibilities. Pages that did not become normative help us to discern more precisely the choices on pages that did. Gertrud Schiller documented, for example, that the publishers of Lutheran catechisms reused woodcuts<sup>22</sup>—a savings in the production of the codices—but other pages help us to see that woodcuts from Lutheran catechisms worked in specific ways and not others with the texts they accompanied.

The same premises that guided this book's textual analyses guide the following analysis, too: analysis begins and ends with the codex. The images in catechisms were published in a rapidly changing visual environment—Churches 'cleansed' of their images, Churches reconsecrated and refurnished. Given that we do not know their readers, we cannot know their visual referents: painted retables and panels, sculpted images in churches and chapels, private devotional images, devotional books, broadsides, pamphlets—each one of which might have brought associations, allusions, meaning to images contained within a codex. In this chapter, too, notes direct the interested reader to connected fields of inquiry, such as iconography and visual traditions of specific images. The focus of the following is the interplay of word and image on plane of the page and within the codex of individual catechisms, even as the notes acknowledge that all images reached beyond their pages—to bibles and altarpieces, panels and devotional books, rosaries and street corners.

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22 Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1: 117–61.

So, too, the range of imagined readers encompasses the visually naïve as well as the visually learned.<sup>23</sup> Johannes Bellerus's edition of Canisius's *Little Catechism*, for instance, contained multiple kinds of image—emblematic, biblical narrative, meditative—that would have engaged different readers in importantly different ways, ways that nonetheless lie beyond the scope of this book. The following is mindful of fathers, sons, daughters, school boys, aristocratic women, as well as pastors and schoolmasters—all the different sorts of readers to whom authors addressed their catechisms.

### A Catechism of the Church of Strasbourg

The anonymous Strasbourg catechism (Figs. 104–6),<sup>24</sup> which largely followed the sequence of Luther's catechisms and adopted his question, "Was ist das?" contained woodcuts for each of the Ten Commandments, but no other figurative art. It visualized that the Old Testament narrative could be rendered in line, ink on paper, but, it would seem, not the New.<sup>25</sup> God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit did not appear in any of the woodcuts. Nine of the ten woodcuts rendered moments from the Pentateuch, visually connecting the catechism to illustrated Bibles even as they also visually connected the Commandments to their textual place in the Old Testament. The woodcut for the Fourth Commandment, to sanctify the holy days, presented no biblical scene, but an ideal contemporary church, in which men removed their hats and modestly

23 For an example of what a visually learned viewer might have brought to these images, see Anna C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Amsterdam, 1978).

24 Catechismus / // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasst (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]).

25 Surviving copies of late medieval catechetical texts suggest that catechesis was divided into discrete textual traditions: the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer. Each of those textual traditions, in turn, had its own visual tradition—images that were, typically, published with the text. In the case of the Ten Commandments, there was an established visual tradition of providing exempla from the Old Testament. For late medieval examples, see Andrew Chertsey, *Jhesus. // The floure of the commaundementes of god with many exam=//ples and auctorytees . . .* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1510); Marquard von Lindau, O.F.M., *Das Buch der zehn Gebote (Venedig 1483)*, ed., with Introduction and Glossary, Jacobus Willem van Maren (Amsterdam, 1984); Marquard von Lindau, *Die zehe Gebot (Straßburg 1516 und 1520): Ein katechetischer Traktat*, ed. with notes, Jacobus Willem van Maren (Amsterdam, 1980). For a discussion of the visual tradition and Lutheran catechisms, see Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1: 121–34.



FIGURE 104 *Catechismus // Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in  
Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasset (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p.  
Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

dressed men and women listened attentively to a preacher (Fig. 105). Together the images invoked a sense of the people of God as continuous, even as they also visually reinforced the renumbering of the Ten Commandments to accord the prohibition of images a discrete Commandment: two separate woodcuts rendered Moses receiving the tables and the adoration of the golden calf. In the very absence of any images after the Ten Commandments—and by extension the golden calf—the catechism itself materialized the change that the Second Commandment decreed.

### Lutheran Catechisms

The first Reformation catechism to be printed with figurative art may well have been Martin Luther's (Fig. 107).<sup>26</sup> Typically in the surviving editions of

26 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarher vnd Predigerr / Gemehret vnd gebessert, durch Mart. Luther* (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz,

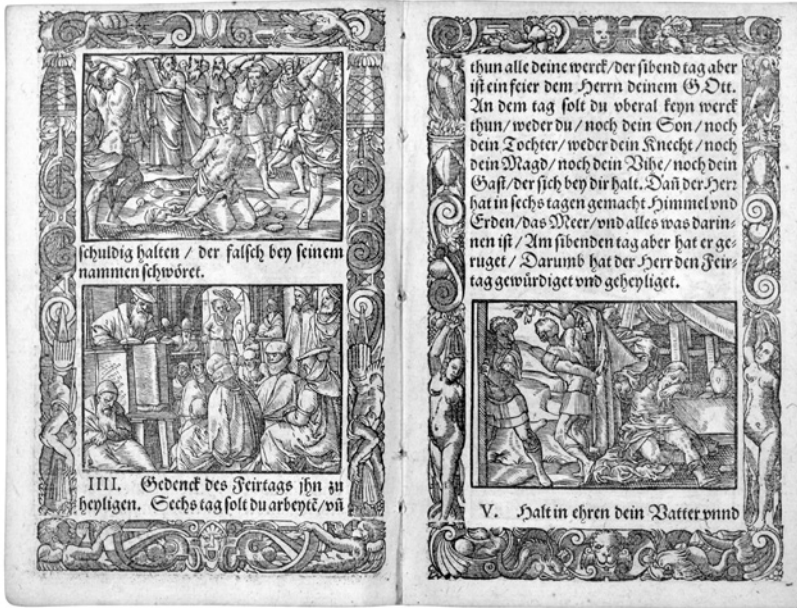


FIGURE 105 *Catechismus /// Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasstet (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*



FIGURE 106 *Catechismus /// Christliche Vnderrich=//tung oder Lehrtafel / kuertzlich // in Sechs nachfolgende // Stuck verfasstet (Strasbourg: Theodosius Rihel, [1550]), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*



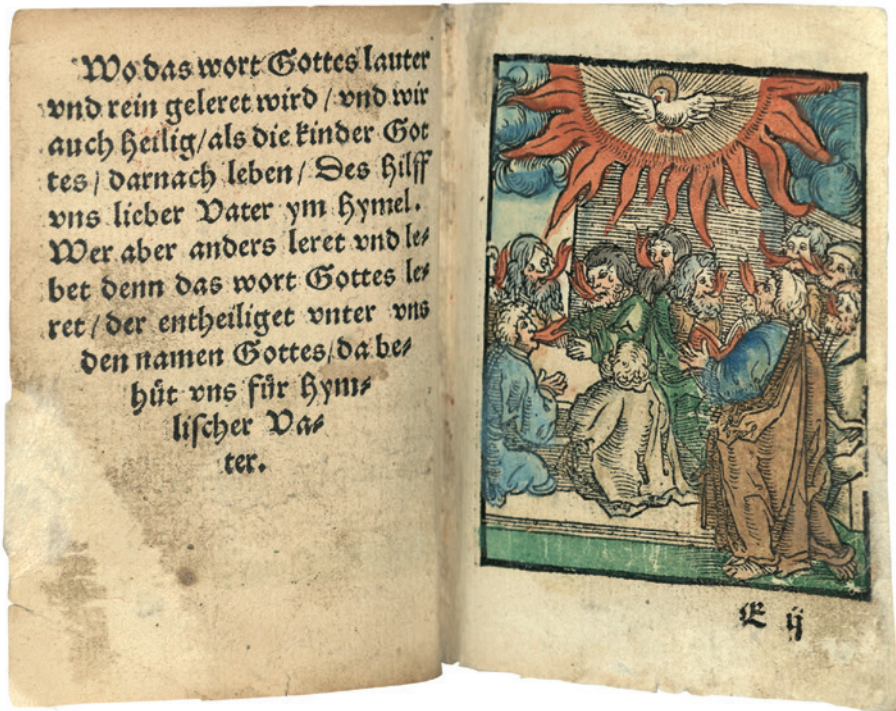


FIGURE 107 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarher vnd Predigerr / Gemehret vnd gebessert, durch Mart. Luther* (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1529), E<sup>v</sup>–E<sup>ii</sup>. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Bibliothek, Nuremberg.

Luther's catechisms, as well as catechisms adapted from his, such as Johannes Spangenberg's *Large Catechism* and Erasmus Sarcerius's *Catechism*, that were published with images, woodcuts were placed at the beginning of catechesis of

1529), E<sup>v</sup>–E<sup>ii</sup>. Both the Weimar edition of Luther's two catechisms as well as Benzing, for whom the WA is the likely source, list a 1529 edition of the *German Catechism* published by George Rhau of Wittenberg with 24 woodcuts and, in the same year, also in Wittenberg, an edition of the *Enchiridion* containing 20 woodcuts published by Nickel Schirlentz, *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Vol. 30, 1 (Weimar, 1910) [Hereafter WA 30,1], 500 and 670, respectively; Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie*, 1: 298, Nr. 2552, and 304, Nr. 2597. The Bibliothek of the Germanisches National Museum has an incomplete copy of a 1529 Schirlentz edition of the *Enchiridion*, which contains two full-page woodcuts, ten borders, and five initials, all hand colored; Benzing lists the edition as 8°, but it is smaller than 16°. Schirlentz published another eight editions with woodcuts, most of which survive in one copy. See Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie*, 1: 304–5, Numbers 2600–2606a. Benzing offers tentative date, 'um 1530', publisher, 'Jobst Gutknecht', and location, Nuremberg, (Benzing,

each Commandment and of each of the three articles of the Apostles' Creed, at the preface and the beginning each of the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, within the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and at the beginning of catechesis of confession.<sup>27</sup> The woodcuts served structurally to mark each part of Luther's catechism. They also visually linked the catechism to the Bible in specific ways. In the case of the Ten Commandments, woodcuts offered exempla of transgressions of the Commandments they accompanied—not unlike medieval catechesis of the Decalogue—drawn from the Old Testament. George Rhau's 1531 edition of Luther's *German Catechism* contained full-page woodcuts.<sup>28</sup> The first woodcut appeared at the end of the Preface and, as the catechumen turned the page, just before the First Commandment (Fig. 108). As the Strasbourg catechism would do later, the woodcut drew on the tradition of images that had accompanied medieval teaching of the Ten Commandments.<sup>29</sup> The woodcuts presumed knowledge both visual and textual of the Exodus narrative.<sup>30</sup> Again, like the medieval tradition, the Strasbourg and Wittenberg woodcuts did not so much depict the narrative as encapsulate two discrete moments in it—Moses receiving the two tables of the law and the adoration

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*Lutherbibliographie*, 1: 305, Nr. 2607) for the edition of the *Enchiridion* available in digital copy at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: Martin Luther, *Enchiridion*. // Der kleyne Cathe=//chismus für die gemeyne // Pfarherr und Predi=//ger [Nuremberg], [ca. 1530]: [http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00055115/image\\_1](http://daten.digital-e-sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00055115/image_1). This, too, appears to be the sole surviving copy.

- 27 On the woodcuts published with Luther's and Lutheran catechisms, see foremost Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1: 117–61.
- 28 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531). On the woodcuts published with Lutheran catechesis of the Ten Commandments, see Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1: 121–34. All ten woodcuts for the Commandments were, according to Schiller, first produced in 1529 by Lucas Cranach the Elder or his workshop for a Tafeldruck of the Decalogue by Melanchthon, Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plates 297–306, with notes.
- 29 See, for example, Hans Baldung Grien's woodcut in Marquard von Lindau, *Die zehē gebot* (Strasbourg, 1516), VII.
- 30 I am grateful to Matthieu Somon for his help on representations of Moses. Moses receives the tables of the law twice in Exodus, in chapters 19 and 32. In the Photographic Collection of the Warburg Institute, photos of illustrations in the *Malerin Bible* (Venice, 1490), a 1578 Bible from Lyon, as well other fragments, all filed under "Moses receiving the Law (Ex. 19)", offer some evidence that Moses receiving the tables was treated as a separate image from the adoration of the golden calf. On representations of Moses and the Law, see also Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley, 1999), 54–66.



Vorrhede.  
**E**so hette man vberal funff  
 stück der ganzen Christlichen lere/  
 die man ymerdar reiben sol / vnd  
 von wort zu wort fodern vnd verhö-  
 ren. Denn verlasse dich nicht drauff/  
 das das iunge volck / alleine aus der predigt lere  
 ne vnd behalte. Wenn man nu solche stücke wol  
 weis / so kan man darnach auch etliche Psalmen  
 oder gesänge so darauff gemacht sind / fiele-  
 gen / zur zugabe vnd sterke des selbigen / vnd  
 also die tugent ynn die schrift bringen / vnd teg-  
 lich weiter faren.  
 Es sol aber nicht an dem gung sein / das  
 mans alleine den Worten nach fasse vnd verzele  
 künde / sondern lasse das iunge volck auch zur  
 predigt gehen / sonderlich auff die zeit / so zu dem  
 Catechismo geordnet / das sie es hören ausle-  
 gen / vnd verstehen lernen / was ein iglich stück  
 ynn sich habe. Also / das sie es auch können auff-  
 sagen / wie sie es gehört haben / vnd sein richtig  
 antworten / wenn man sie fraget / auff das es  
 nicht on nutz vnd feucht gepredigt werde. Denn  
 darumb thun wir den vlets / den Catechismum  
 oft furzupredigen / das man solchs ynn die iu-  
 gent bleue / nicht hoch noch scharff sondern furz  
 zu auffz einfeltigt / auff das es yhn wol eingehe  
 vnd ym gedechtnis bleibe. Derhalben wollen  
 wir nu die angezeigten stücke nach einander fur  
 vns nemen / vnd auffz deutlichst dazvon reden/  
 sonder not ist.

Das



FIGURE 108 Martin Luther, *Deutsches Catechismus*. // Mit einer neuen vorrhede // vnd  
 vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), XII<sup>v</sup>–XIII.  
 Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

of the golden calf—and set them on the same plane. The woodcuts visualized specific ways of thinking about the Ten Commandments: that they originated in divine communication, made directly to humankind in the person of Moses; that they were thus the direct communication of God's will—God's voice was there in the Commandments the catechumen was about to learn. As it would in Van der Borch's engraving, the golden calf made explicit that images themselves were not the idols—as the Strasbourg catechism visualized, images of biblical narrative were not encompassed in the First Commandment. So, too, the Commandments were rendered as a physical object, material in ways analogous to the codicil Bibles and catechisms of the sixteenth century. Things material could convey God's Word.

One year later, Rhau printed another edition of the *German Catechism*, this time with smaller woodcuts, by a different designer, which were placed in a

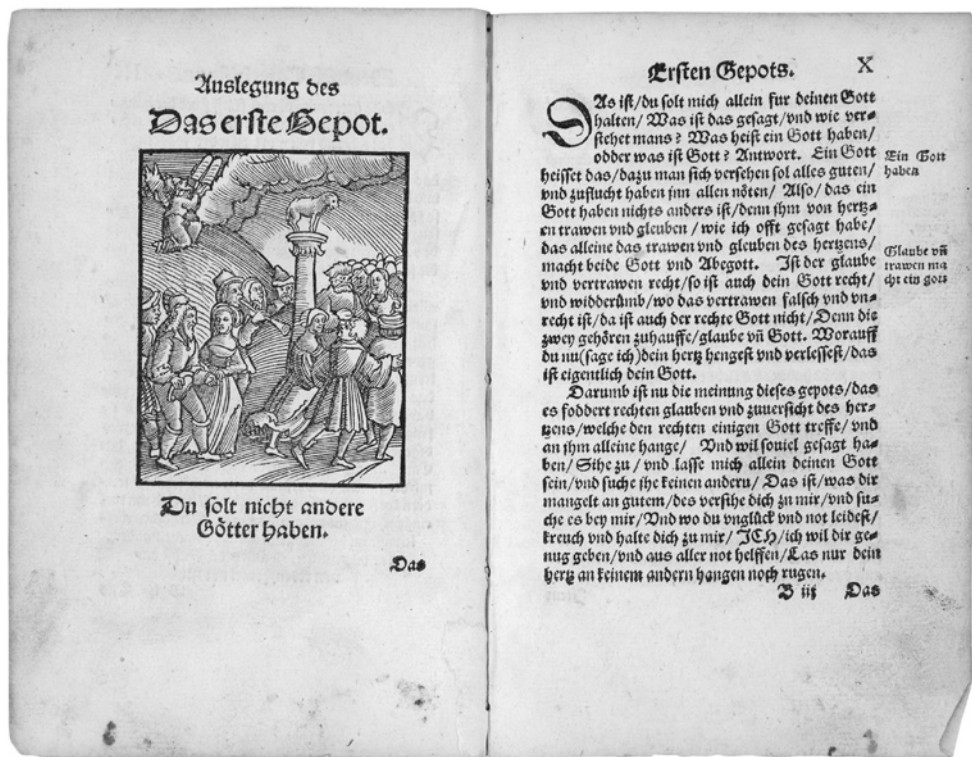


FIGURE 109 Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer neuen Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1532), IX<sup>v</sup>-X. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

different relationship to the text (Fig. 109).<sup>31</sup> The first woodcut was placed with the First Commandment. Like every subsequent woodcut in this edition, it was visually framed by words.<sup>32</sup> Words also framed its meaning: "Exposition of the First Commandment" at the top, and "You should not have other gods" at the bottom. The reader still needed to know biblical narrative—there was no reference to the Exodus text—to place the image scripturally, but the presence of an animal on a pedestal and the absence of either face or person of God also served to give visual content to the words at the bottom. As the woodcut

31 Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer neuen Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1532).

32 On 'framing', see Werner Wolf, "Introduction: Frames, Framings and Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media," *Framing Borders*, 1–40.



FIGURE 110 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

manifested by its very presence on the page, the First Commandment encompassed idolatry, but not all representation; as its content suggested—though the catechism did not teach—representing the face of God might be encompassed in the broad prohibition of idolatry, but representing events narrated in the Bible, God's Word, were not.

In 1547, Valentin Babst published an edition of Luther's *Enchiridion* which continued the practice of placing a woodcut of Moses and the tables of the law and the golden calf (Fig. 44).<sup>33</sup> A second woodcut on the following page was doubly framed, both contained within a woodcut border and preceded on the page by the directive: "This figure stands in the second Book of Moses, at 32" (Fig. 110).<sup>34</sup> The woodcut, while rendering the same amalgam of Moses receiving the tables and the worshiping of the golden calf, added a third event,

33 Martin Luther, *ENCHIRIDION // Der Kleine // Catechismus. // Fuer die gemeine // Pfarherr und // Prediger* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547).

34 On this particular practice, see WA 30,1, 611–14.

also in chapter 32: Moses smashing the tables, which was placed in the foreground, spatially preceding that which, according to the biblical narrative, occurred before. In all three editions, woodcuts visualized a particular definition of 'idolatry', offering images of Old Testament narratives of the practice of idolatry—the golden calf—and of divine communication: the two tables of the Commandments. In their very presence, they also silenced any definition of idolatry that encompassed all images.<sup>35</sup>

In Luther's catechisms, as in the Strasbourg Catechism, the woodcut for the Commandment to sanctify the Lord's Day depicted an ideal set in the woodcut's present. The third woodcut in Rhau's 1531 edition faced its text (Fig. 111). It contrasted the proper way to "sanctify the feast day" with a man, in the background, continuing mundane labor, collecting firewood.<sup>36</sup> The proper way to keep the Lord's Day was preaching, in doctoral robes—not vestments—and listening, seated and facing the preacher. All were to keep the day that way: women, who were shown in the front; children, marked by the one standing child; and men, who were seated and standing behind the women. The clothing was lay and designated artisans as well as merchants and patricians. As in the Strasbourg catechism, this woodcut, appearing in a sequence of woodcuts drawn from the Old Testament, implicitly connected the Church of the catechism to Moses's people.

In his 1532 edition (Fig. 112), Rhau published a simpler image of the same rough content: lay men and women—no longer any children—seated (none

35 In 1550, Wolfgang Günther of Leipzig published an edition of Erasmus Sarcerius's catechism with woodcuts: Erasmus Sarcerius, *CATECHISMVS // ERASMI // SARCERII PLANE // nouus, per omnes ferè quæ // stiones & circumstantias, // quæ in iustam tracta= // tionem incidere // possunt, // in usum scholarum & tem= // plorum*, Lipsiæ con= // scriptus (Leipzig: Wolfgang Gunter, 1550). Once again, the woodcut (Cii<sup>v</sup>) was framed by words, themselves visually differentiated: "The First / The word of the / First Commandment" at the top; "You should not have other gods beside me" at the bottom. The woodcut, however, offered no simple illustration of a biblical narrative, or even an image composed of discrete moments in the biblical narrative, but contemporary figures in the foreground, Moses receiving the tables in the deep background on the left, and the golden calf in the center behind the modern figures. The detailed rendering of the heads of the modern figures, moreover, as well as their dress suggest that some readers, at least, might have been able to identify just who was worshiping the golden calf. Like the Babst edition of the *Enchiridion*, the woodcut may have been addressing a specific community, even as the text of the catechism participated in building a translocal Church.

36 Cf. Numbers 15:32–36. Collecting wood as an example of transgressing the Commandment to honor the Sabbath was an established visual tradition, see, for example, Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 283.



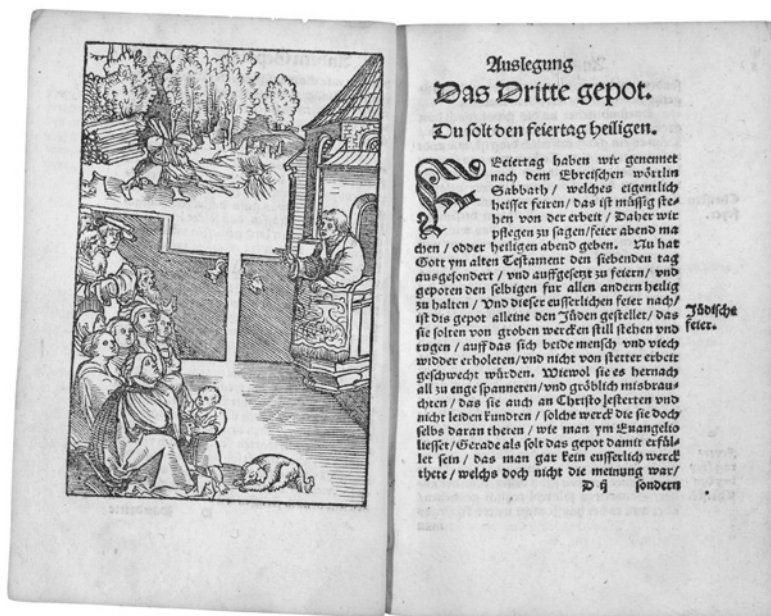


FIGURE 111 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.*// *Mit einer newen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht.* // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), D<sup>r</sup>-Dii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

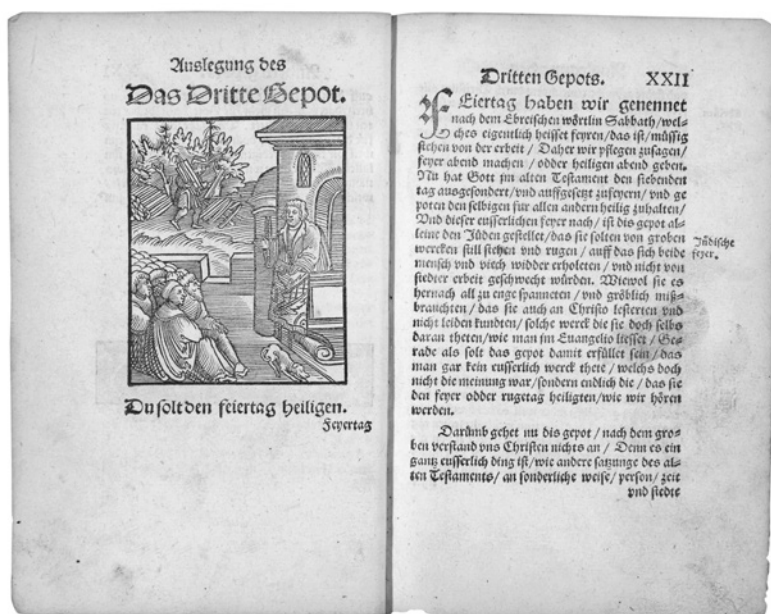


FIGURE 112 Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechismus.*// *Mit einer newen Vorrede // und vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1532), XXI<sup>r</sup>-XXII<sup>r</sup>. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



FIGURE 113 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

standing), listening to a preacher, once again in doctoral robes, in a pulpit; and behind, again, the man gathering wood that, in this second woodcut, has been cut. This one was framed by the words: "Exposition of the Third Commandment" on top; "You should sanctify the feast day" on the bottom. Again, the woodcuts visualized an implicit continuum between Moses and the Church learning this catechism.

Like the earlier Rhau editions of the *German Catechism*, the 1547 Babst edition of the *Enchiridion* contained a woodcut of a contemporary scene (Fig. 113). The woodsman was just barely visible through the window at the back of the scene. Within the space the woodcut thereby signaled as enclosed, a preacher, again dressed in doctoral robe, again in a pulpit, faced a group of lay women, who were seated, a child, and two lay men, one seated, one standing. But in this woodcut, the plane of the image was divided by a crucifix. While the figure of Christ was smaller than any of the contemporary figures, the cross was taller than the pulpit. In this image, the preacher looked at and pointed at the crucifix, a dramatic change in the pictorial content and the significance



of the image.<sup>37</sup> The woodcut visually bound Old and New Testaments, collapsing the narrative of Old and New and explicitly linking the Commandment and Christ's sacrifice and death.

Georg Rhau's 1541 edition of Johannes Spangenberg's *Large Catechism* did not contain a woodcut for the First Commandment; the woodcut for the Third was strikingly similar to, but not identical with that of the 1532 edition of the *German Catechism* (Fig. 114).<sup>38</sup> It, too, presented contemporary listeners, a preacher in doctoral robes, but their postures differed slightly.<sup>39</sup>

The woodcuts accompanying the articles of the Apostles' Creed worked differently than did those accompanying the Ten Commandments: they offered not exempla, but visualizations of Luther's tripartite teaching of the Creed: Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier. In each of the Lutheran catechisms discussed here, the woodcut accompanying catechesis of the first article of the Creed depicted "Creation", at once marking Luther's particular division of the Creed into the three persons of the Trinity and visualizing his particular teaching of God as Creator.<sup>40</sup> All placed God visually in the center of the story if not the woodcut. In all, their components could be traced more or less explicitly to the Genesis narrative. None rendered it in its entirety. Each invoked it through the presence of various parts of the narrative, each offering a slightly different visualization of "Creation".

37 Cf. Lucas Cranach's 1547 Wittenberg Altarpiece <http://www.stadtkirchengemeinde-wittenberg.de/de/stadtkirche.html>. The Günther edition of Sarcerius's catechism also contained a woodcut of a contemporary scene: the woodman was no longer to be found, but a preacher, in doctoral robes, in the pulpit, was there, as well as a crucifix. The preacher did not point to the crucifix, which was more nearly centered in the image, no longer separating the preacher from the congregation. Two figures stood out in the plane of the woodcut, both dressed as prosperous laymen, facing one another, seemingly in conversation. Nor were most of the faces turned towards the preacher in this image. The image itself followed immediately the words marking the beginning of catechesis of the Third Commandment, but was placed on the page such that the Commandment itself fell on the next.

38 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // d. Mart. Luth. // Für die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541).

39 An Augsburg edition presented a strikingly different woodcut: the administration of the Lord's Supper, both host, at center in the image, and chalice, on the right, to a lay man, left, and wimpled woman, right. This image did not reappear in the chapter on the Lord's Supper. Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstucke // verfasset* (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547).

40 Schiller provides examples of the woodcuts accompanying the first article of the Creed in Lutheran catechisms, Schiller, *Ikonomie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plates 339–43.

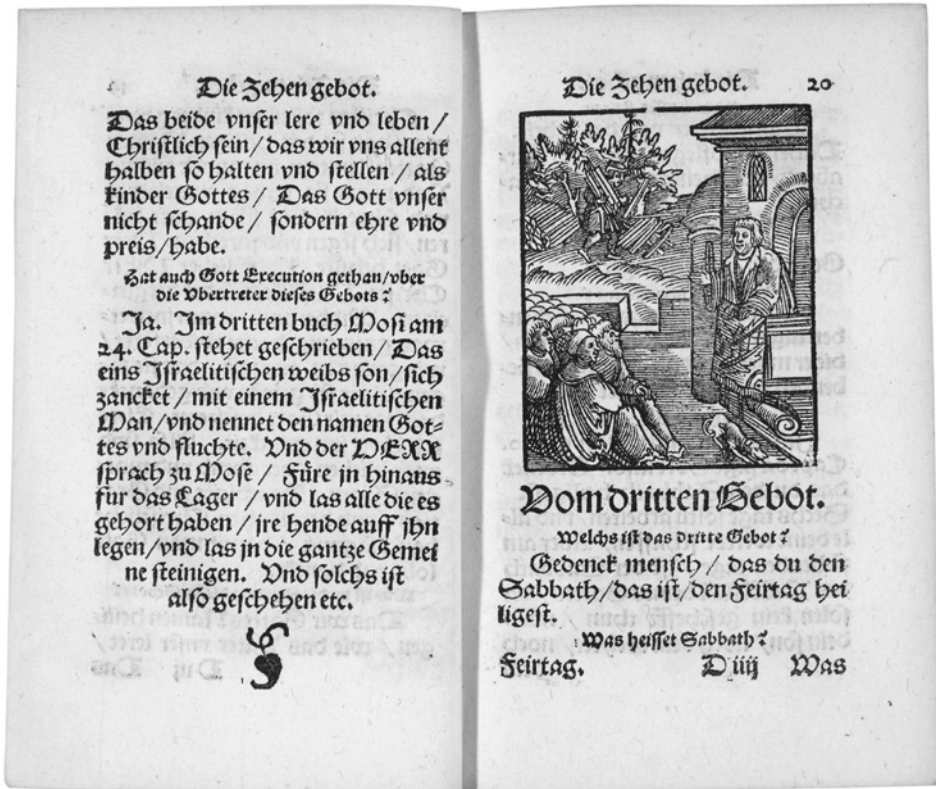


FIGURE 114 *Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // d. Mart. Luth. // Für die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 19<sup>v</sup>–20. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

The 1531 woodcut (Fig. 115), standing alone on the left page, depicted God the Father, exactly at center, within a circle within the square of the woodcut. In this woodcut, God was present in Creation. The circle enclosed along its top the moon, stars, and then the sun; along its central horizontal axis and at God's feet, birds and animals familiar to sixteenth-century Saxons: a horse and a stag foremost. Outside the circle, but within the square, were the four winds as they were represented on contemporary maps. On the page opposite, in larger Fraktur were the first words of the Creed, and among those words, Creator [Schepfer] was capitalized. This woodcut connected "Creator" to sun, moon, stars; to winds; to creatures that fly and run.

In the following year's edition, the woodcut changed as well as its placement (Fig. 116). Like those accompanying the Ten Commandments, it, too, was framed by words, this time: "Exposition of the First Article" at the top, and

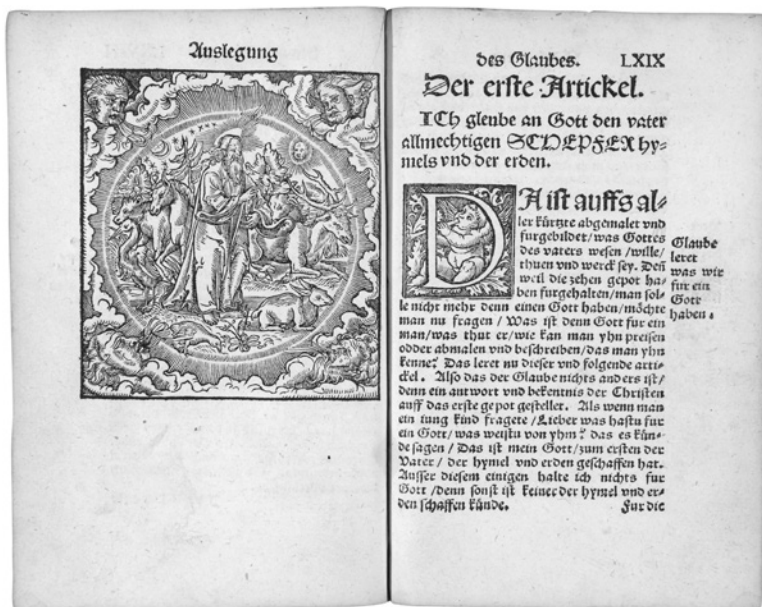


FIGURE 115

Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht.* // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LXVIII<sup>v</sup>–LXIX. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

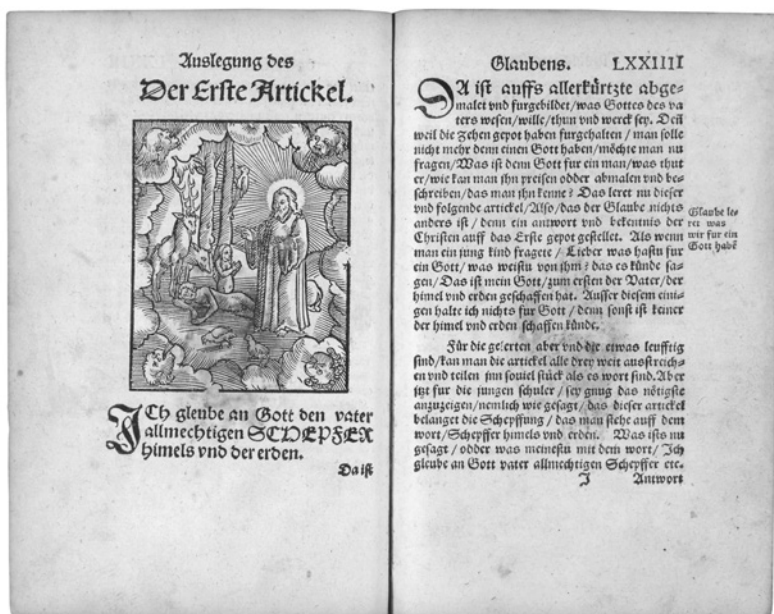


FIGURE 116

Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechis //mus.// Mit einer neuen Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1532), LXXIII<sup>v</sup>–LXXIII. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



FIGURE 117 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

"I believe in God the father almighty CREATOR of heaven and the earth" at the bottom. But the woodcut was no longer a circle enclosed in a square. It no longer contained the moon or stars or the sun, though the four winds remained in the corners. In this woodcut, God, again, was present in Creation itself. He stood to the right of the center. To the left remained the stag and the boar, but nearly at center in the woodcut was the creation of Eve from the sleeping Adam. In the 1532 edition, "Creator" visually encompassed Eve as well as the winds and the creatures who run.

The woodcut in the 1547 Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion* was the largest of all three editions (Fig. 117). It was preceded by the chapter heading: "The Creed, as a father should set forth simply to his household". On the facing page was the first article of the Creed, in bold, larger Fraktur (preserving the original capitalization): "I believe in God the Father Almighty Creator of Heaven and the Earth". This woodcut was again different in content. In it, the figure of God dominated the plane of the image, fully  $\frac{3}{4}$  the height of the woodcut, and the designer emphasized movement, not stasis, in the lines emanating from his head, which themselves evoked a star as well as wind. Within the circle



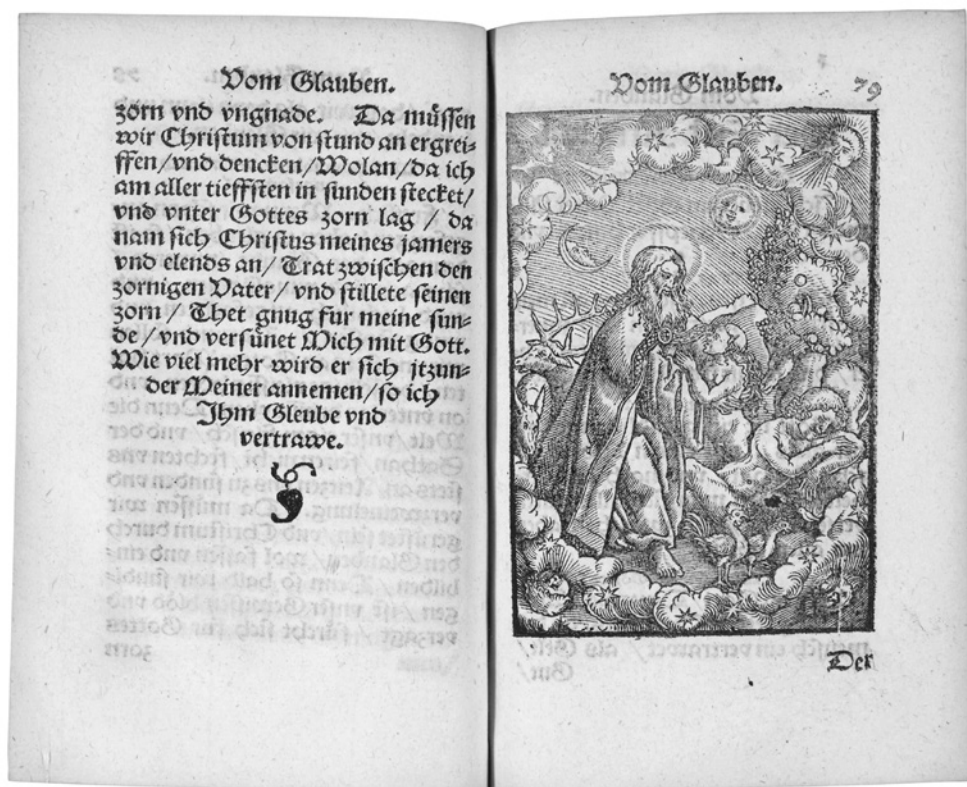


FIGURE 118 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere* // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasst (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 78<sup>v</sup>–79. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

formed by some of these lines was a small creation scene comprising a goat and a stag, which stood behind a fully articulated tree. Adam and Eve were both absent. 'Creation' in this woodcut encompassed light, plants, domestic and wild animals.

Two editions of Spangenberg's *Large Catechism* suggest that an accompanying image of Creation had become established, even as they also manifest differences in visual content. The Rhau edition of 1541 harked back to the 1531 edition of the *German Catechism*, evoking a circle within a square and including the moon, the stars, and the sun, as well as the four winds (Fig. 118).<sup>41</sup> Present, too, were the stag and another mammal, as well as apparently

41 This woodcut was, according to Schiller, first published with a 1538 Wittenberg edition of the *German Catechism*, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 339.

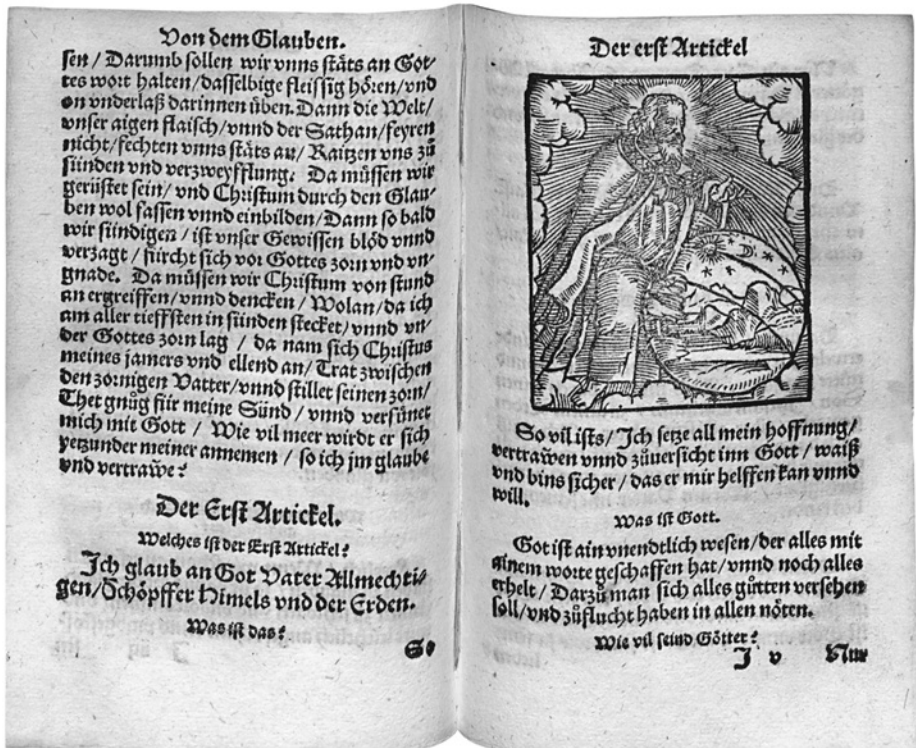


FIGURE 119 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstucke //* verfasst (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547), Jüüiv–Jv. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

chickens—that sense of animals created for human use that the catechism taught. The woodcut shared with the 1532 Rhau edition of the *German Catechism* the centrality of the creation of Eve. In this woodcut, God was present in Creation, physically lifting her from the open side of the sleeping Adam. In this catechism, ‘Creation’ encompassed sun, moon, stars, winds, animals, and Eve. The 1547 Augsburg edition offers a strikingly different image of Creation (Fig. 119).<sup>42</sup> Even as it manifests that an image of Creation had become typical in Lutheran catechisms, God is outside Creation and Eve is absent—an image of Creation had become typical, but Eve’s presence was not. This woodcut, only half a page in size, was dominated by the figure of God. In this woodcut, ‘Creation’ appeared as a circle small enough for God to hold; it

42 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstucke //* verfasst (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547).



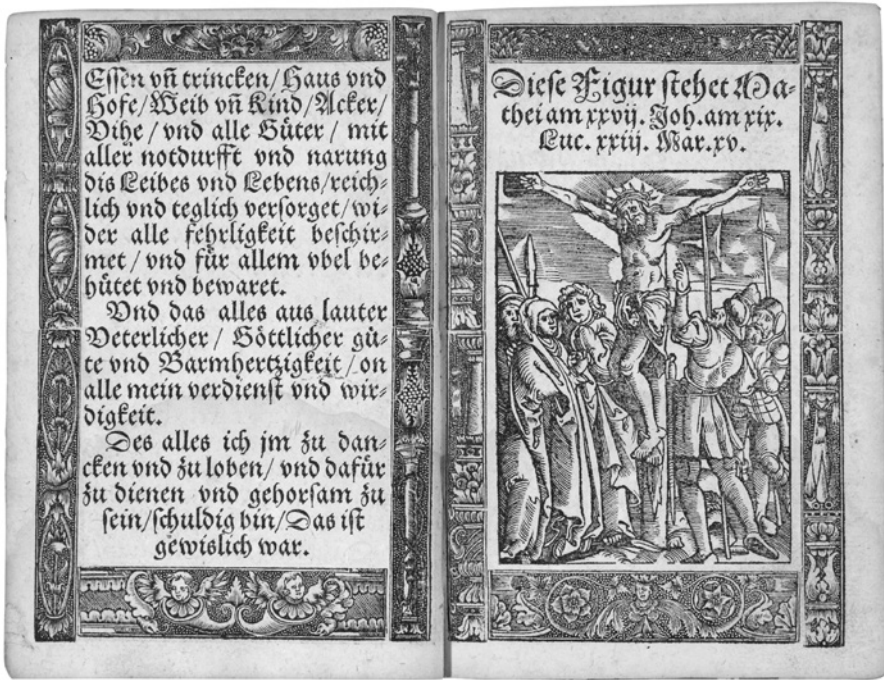


FIGURE 120 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

encompassed the sun, the moon, and stars, mountains, water, and, perhaps, a forest on the left, but no animals, no Eve, no Adam.<sup>43</sup>

In all four of Luther's catechisms as well as the Sarcerius *Catechism* the woodcut accompanying the second article of the Creed presented an image of the Crucifixion, here from the Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion* (Fig. 120).<sup>44</sup> They varied as to the presence of Mary Magdalene, soldiers, and the two thieves, but not as to the presence of Mary and John. In all, the second article, On Redemption, was visually encapsulated in perhaps the central devotional image of the late Middle Ages, the icon of Christ's death and sacrifice, an image

43 The woodcut in Sarcerius's *Catechism* also occupied half the page, preceded most immediately by the chapter heading, "On the First Article of the Creation". Creation in the Sarcerius edition encompassed the moon, the stars, and the sun, a boar and a stag. Again, God was present; at center was the creation of Eve, who was more nearly the same size as God and who reached toward him; God laid a hand on her head and pointed toward her, rising, half a torso, from the sleeping Adam.

44 Schiller offers examples of woodcuts accompanying catechesis of the second article of the Creed, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plates 344, 347.

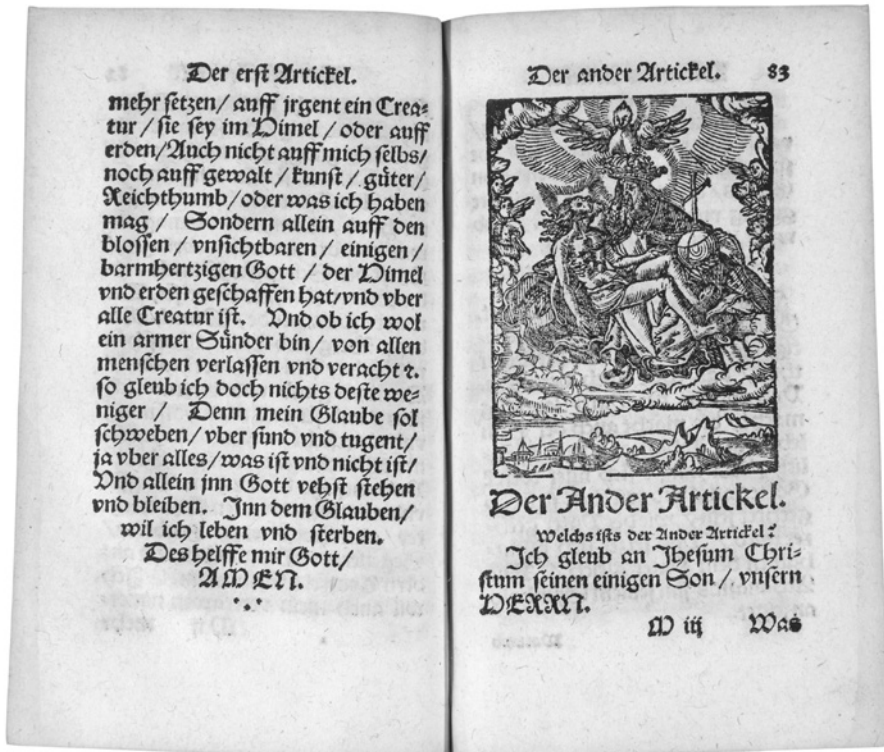


FIGURE 121 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / inn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 82<sup>v</sup>–83. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

found in parish and diocesan churches, on altars and along roads, in devo-  
tional works and homes.<sup>45</sup>

Johannes Spangenberg did not follow Luther's division of the Apostles' Creed; he preserved the traditional division into twelve articles. "The Other Article", therefore, opened a more detailed teaching on the person of Christ. Rhau's Wittenberg edition (Fig. 121) presented an image of the Trinity: Christ held in the lap of God the Father, the dove of the Holy Spirit above his head, and the three forming a triangle. The Augsburg edition preserved Rhau's practice with Luther's catechisms, placing an image of the Crucifixion at the beginning of catechesis of the second person of the Trinity.

45 On the Crucifixion as Andachtsbild, see Martin Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder: Studien zu Intention und Funktion des Bildes in der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte vornehmlich des schwäbischen Raumes* (Stuttgart, 1968), III.2.

All the woodcuts accompanying Luther's catechesis of the third article of the Creed, as well as in Sarcerius's *Catechism*, presented an image of Pentecost—the moment when the Holy Spirit enabled speech in languages unknown to the apostles.<sup>46</sup> All presented a very specific image of the working of the Holy Spirit—among the apostles—and the enabling of alien speech, which, in turn, in the Acts, led to missionizing. In the woodcut from the 1531 edition flames visually connected dove and apostles (Fig. 122). In the 1532 edition, Mary was at center (Fig. 123). The woodcut in the 1547 Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion* presented no flames, but articulated illumination in line and blank spaces (Fig. 124). All connected to the words, "I believe in the Holy Spirit, a holy Christian church, the community of saints, forgiveness of sins, the Resurrection of the flesh, and an eternal life", an event narrated in the Acts of the Apostles, designated in the 1532 edition of the *German Catechism*. Mary's presence was not consistent, but the moment in the biblical narrative was.

Woodcuts accompanying the Lord's Prayer offered yet again a different interplay of woodcut and text. In the 1531 (Fig. 125) and 1532 editions of the *German Catechism*, Rhau reprinted the same woodcut as had appeared in catechesis of the third article of the Creed with the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, visually linking Creed and Prayer, the working of the Holy Spirit and the words Christ had given his followers to speak to God. The second time in the 1532 edition, the woodcut was accompanied by the words, "Your kingdom come", beneath it. In the two editions, woodcuts linked visually the working of the Holy Spirit to the coming of God's kingdom, the presence of the Holy Spirit to the idea of God's kingdom.

In the 1531 (Fig. 126) and 1532 Rhau editions of the *German Catechism*, the 1547 Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion*, the 1550 edition of Sarcerius's *Catechism* and the Rhau edition of Spangenberg's *Large Catechism*, the woodcut accompanying the third petition of the Lord's Prayer depicted Christ fallen to his knees carrying the cross. Just before the words "Your will be done, as in heaven, so also on the earth", were spoken in the 1531 edition, and as they were spoken in other editions, the page presented an image of carrying the cross, of Calvary. The Augsburg edition of Spangenberg's *Large Catechism* contained a woodcut not of Christ carrying the cross, but of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, praying to the chalice, as the apostles slept and, in the background, a crowd

46 Cf. Acts 2:1–6. Schiller identifies the designer of the woodcut in the 1531 *German Catechism* as Erhard Schön, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 345. On medieval Pentecost images, see Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, "Paradise and Pentecost," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout, 2005), 121–60.

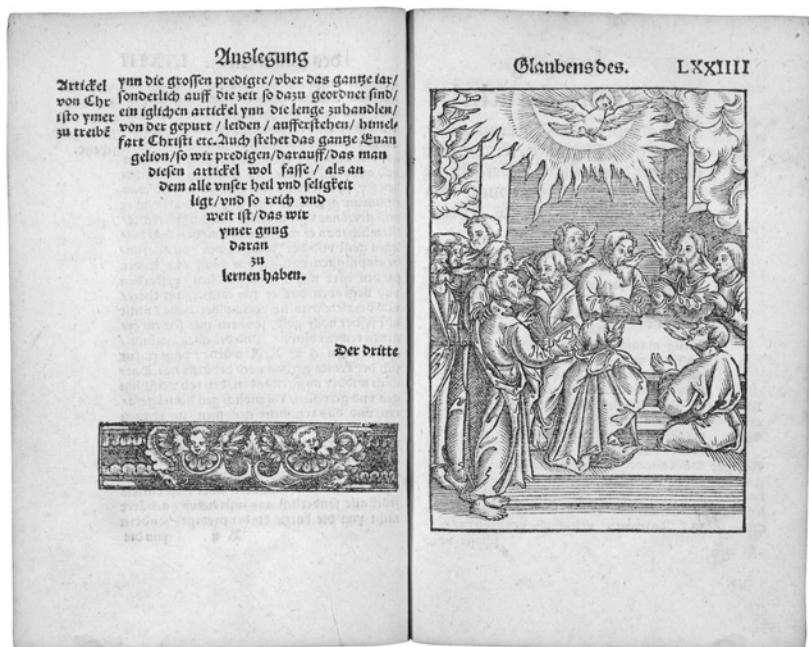


FIGURE 122 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.*// Mit einer neuen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LXXIII<sup>r</sup>–LXXIII<sup>v</sup>. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

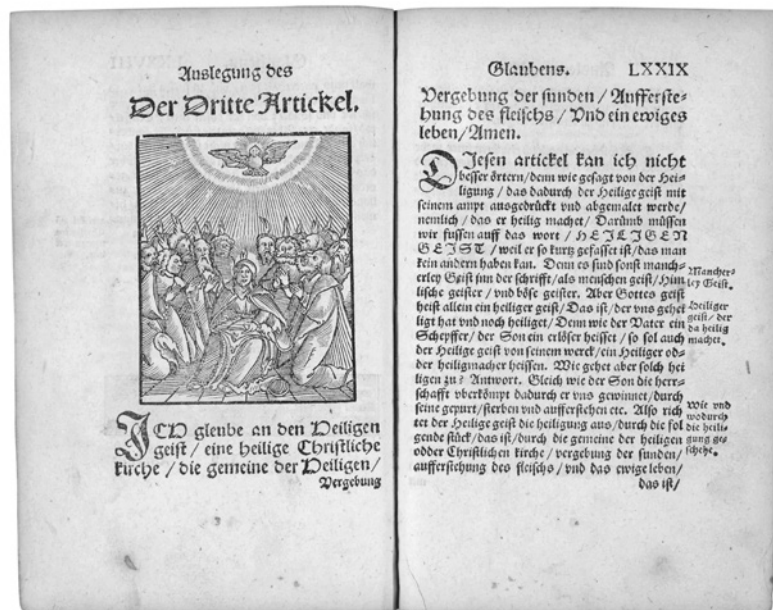


FIGURE 123 Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechismus.*// Mit einer neuen Vorrhe//de // und vermanunge zu // der Beicht (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1532), LXXVIII<sup>r</sup>–LXIX. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



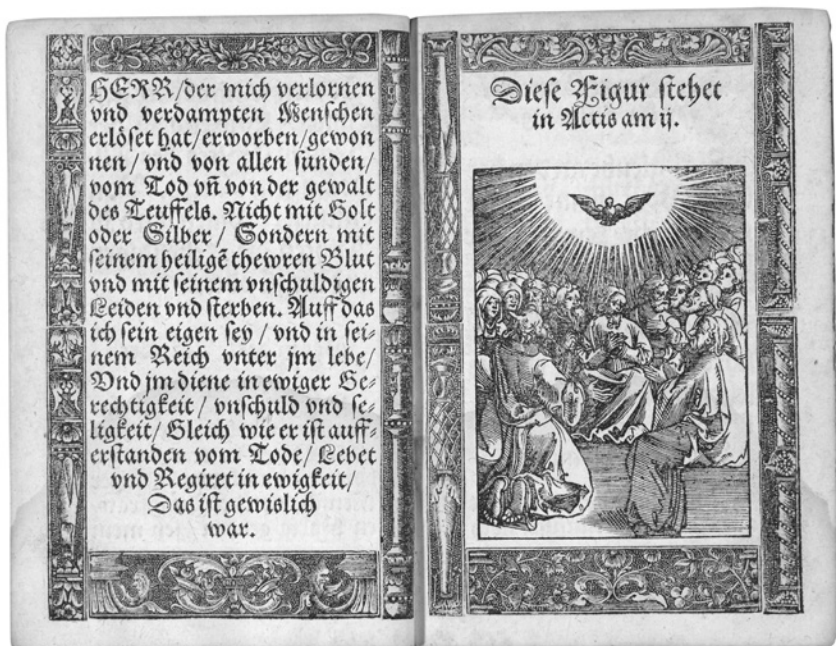


FIGURE 124 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

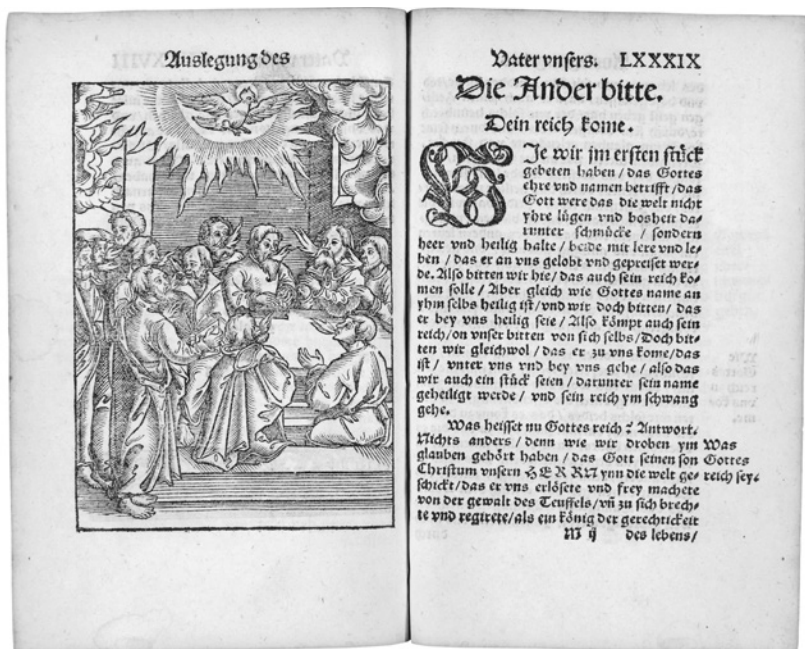


FIGURE 125 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LXXXVIIIv-LXXXIX. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

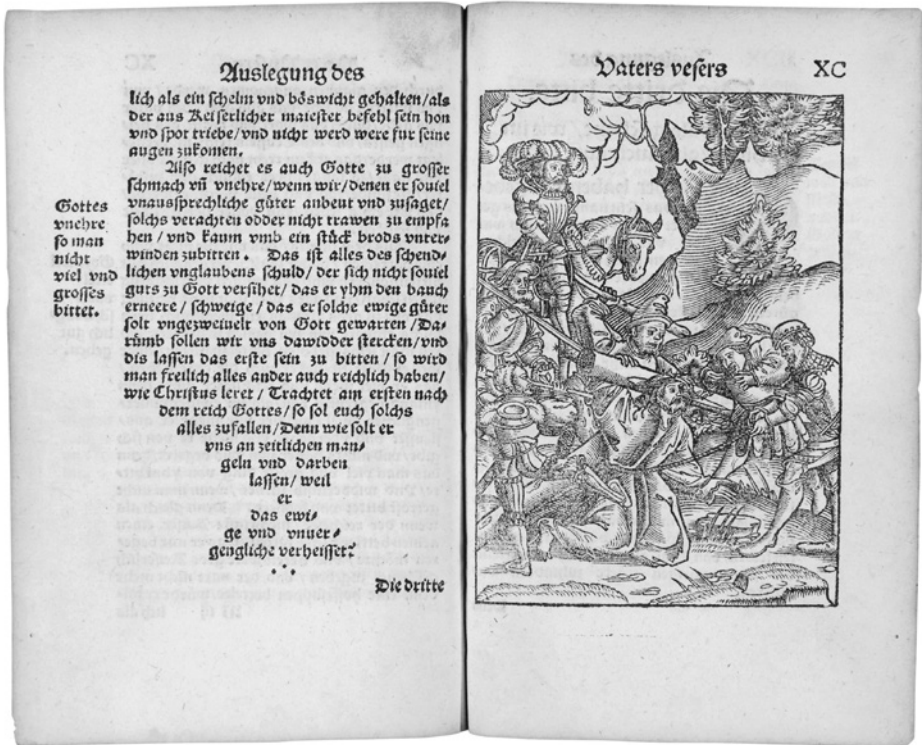


FIGURE 126 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), LXXXIX–XC. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

approached (Fig. 127). Although a different moment, this woodcut, too, invoked the Passion and the cross.

All the catechisms printed by Rhau as well as the Augsburg edition of Spangenberg placed with the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer, for which Luther chose the word "Schuld", a woodcut depicting the counting house, merchants, and coins, arranged spatially differently, but all included in the plane of each woodcut (Fig. 128). In these catechisms, "debt" was visually monetary, commercial, a financial transaction.

All three of the Rhau editions—of the *German Catechism* in 1531 and 1532 (Fig. 129) and of Spangenberg's *Large Catechism* in 1541—used the identical woodcut for "Baptism".<sup>47</sup> The woodcut, depicting a large font, with a man

47 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), CIII<sup>v</sup>; Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer neuen Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht*



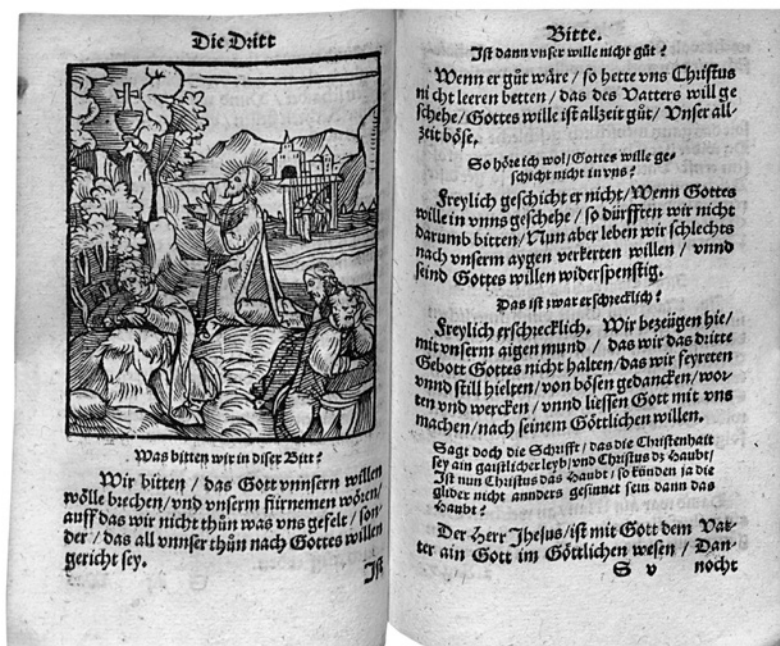


FIGURE 127 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechismus und // Kinder Leere // für die jungen Chri--sten / in Fragstücke // verfasset* (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547), Siii<sup>v</sup>–Sv. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

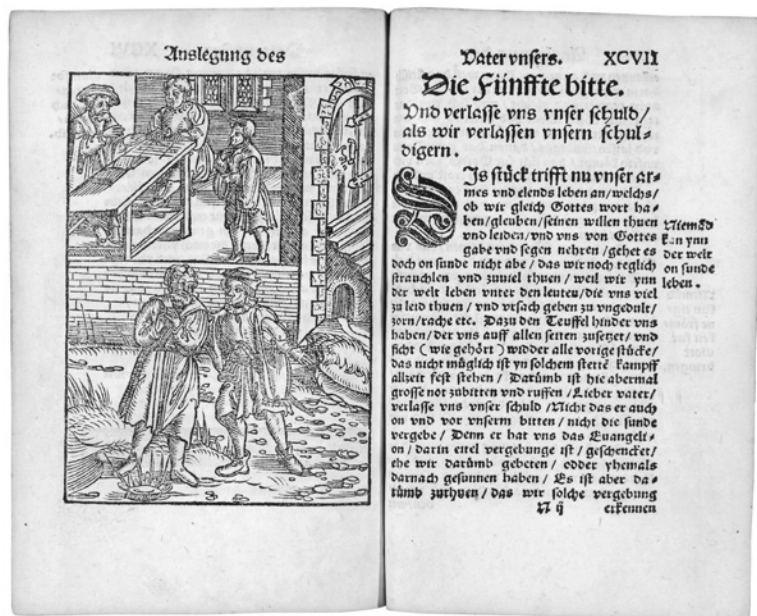


FIGURE 128 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus. // Mit einer neuen vorrheide // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. //* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), xcvi<sup>v</sup>–xcvii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



FIGURE 129 Martin Luther, *Deutsches Catechismus*. // Mit einer neuen vorrede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), CIII<sup>v</sup>–CIII<sup>l</sup>. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

and a woman to one side, two ministers with an infant on the opposite side, appeared at the beginning of catechesis of baptism in Luther's two catechisms; in the Spangenberg, it appeared at the beginning of catechesis on infant baptism. The Sarcerius *Catechism* also carried a woodcut of a man and a woman to one side of a baptismal font, and a pastor holding an infant over the font, but it included as well two figures who might be construed as godparents,<sup>48</sup> while the Rhau woodcut presented four adults: a woman and a man in bourgeois

(Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1532), CVI; Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere* // d. Mart. Luth. // Für die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasst (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 224<sup>v</sup>. The woodcut can be found in Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 385.

48 Erasmus Sarcerius, *CATECHISMVS* // Erasmi // Sarcerij // Durch M. Bartholo=//meum Wagner / Diener der // Kirchen zu S. Thomas zu // Leipzig / mit vleis aus dem // Latein in das Deutsch ge=//bracht / troestlich vnd nuetzlich allen Christen, tiiii.

dress and two men in doctoral dress. In the woodcut accompanying catechesis of baptism in the Augsburg edition of Spangenberg, there was no font—just a bowl and ewer on a table laid with plain cloth.<sup>49</sup> An infant was still present, held in the hands of a man in doctoral dress, who faced another bearded man, behind whom stand two women in wimples. All woodcuts visualized infant baptism. All presented a pastor, designated by his doctoral robes, as performing the baptism. Font or bowl, parents or godparents—these were variables.

The 1547 Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion* contained a significantly different woodcut (Fig. 130). “This figure”, as the words above it stated, “is taken out of the New Testament, Matthew at the third chapter”. Perhaps the publisher no longer saw the polemical need to visualize infant baptism—by 1547, Anabaptists had been driven into hiding in the Empire—perhaps this particular edition’s repeated insistence on biblical origins for each image determined the content of the woodcut. But the woodcut presented a scene that its viewer could have found narrated in the third chapter of the Gospel of Matthew. The woodcut also visualized the Trinity as present: God the Father embracing the whole, the Holy Spirit, rendered as a dove, illuminating the moment, and Christ himself receiving baptism from John the Baptist, who kneels, as others look on.

As he had done for the sacrament of baptism, Rhau used the same woodcut for the Lord’s Supper in his editions of 1531 and 1532, at the beginning of the part on the sacrament (Fig. 131).<sup>50</sup> If we “read” the image left to right, we move from a kneeling woman, her hands folded before her, and another kneeling man looking on, to the recipient of the sacrament, kneeling, the foremost of the group on the left with his mouth open to receive the host even as his hands rise on either side of the celebrant’s extended hand, to the celebrant, wearing a priest’s collar, who offers a host with his right hand while holding a paten in his left, to a chalice standing on an altar. In this woodcut, the Eucharist was still offered in one kind, the host, by a priest.

The woodcut in the Bapst edition presented a far more complex image of the Eucharist (Fig. 132).<sup>51</sup> In the plane of one image, the designer encompassed

49 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere / // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstücke // verfasst* (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547), n.p.

50 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer neuen vorrhede / //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), cxv<sup>v</sup>; Martin Luther, *Deutsch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer neuen Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1532), cxvii<sup>v</sup>. The woodcut can be found in Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 386.

51 The woodcut can be found in Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 392.



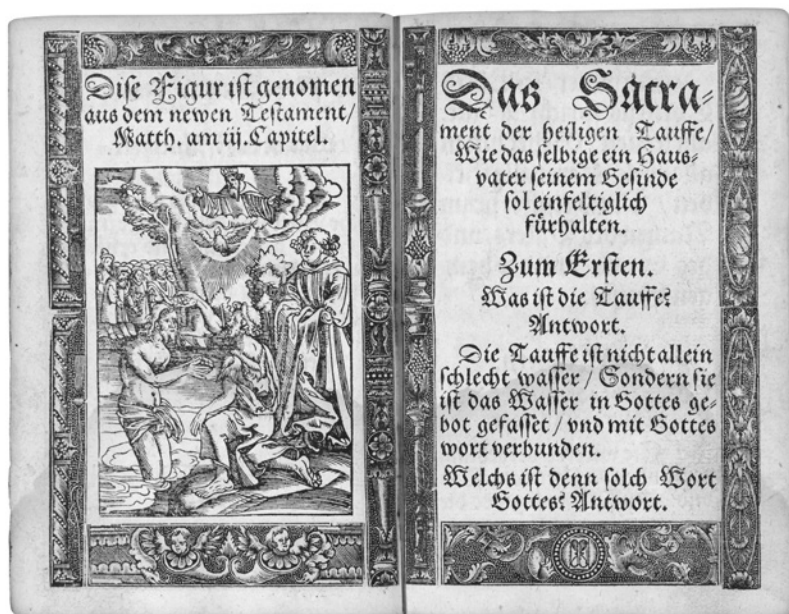


FIGURE 130 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

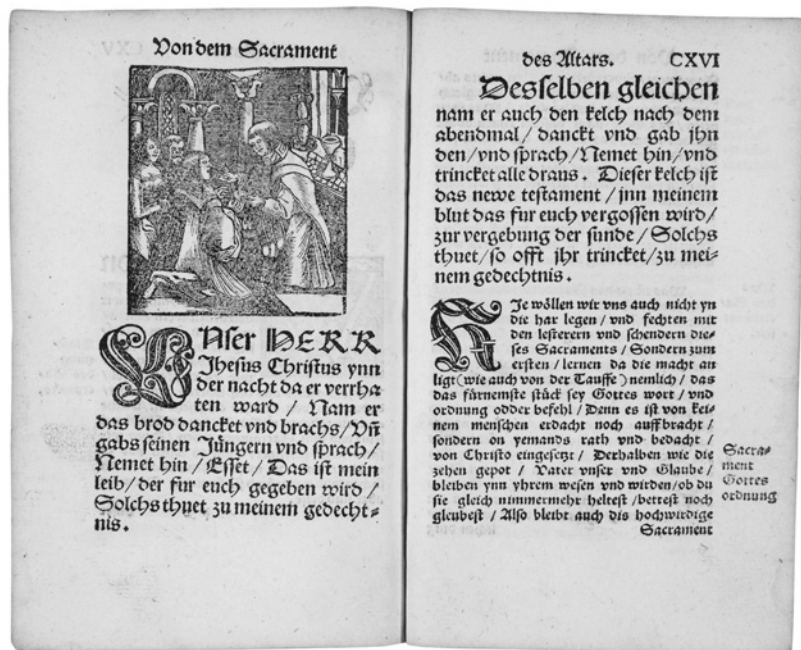


FIGURE 131 Martin Luther, *Deutsch Catechismus*. // Mit einer neuen vorrede // vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), CXV<sup>r</sup>–CXVI. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

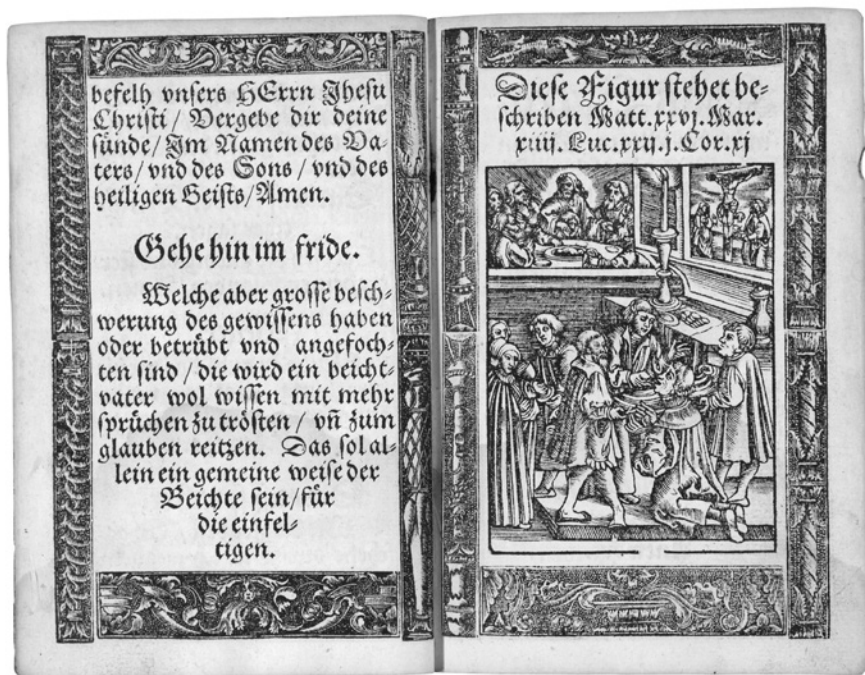


FIGURE 132 Martin Luther, *Enchiridion* (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1547), n.p. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

three discrete scenes. In the upper left corner of the woodcut, Christ sat at table with five of his disciples—the reader was directed to the narrative of the Last Supper by the words above the woodcut. In the upper right, an altar retablo, itself standing on the altar from which the Lord's Supper was being celebrated, contained an image of the Crucifixion. The bottom half was a scene of the contemporary administration of the Lord's Supper: the celebrants wore doctoral robes, not vestments; they offered both the host (on the right in the woodcut) and the chalice (on the left) to lay recipients, some of whom kneeled, as center front, some of whom stood, as on the left. Juxtaposing three discrete moments in time—the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, and contemporary worship—the woodcut offered a potent visualization of 'presence' as well as 'sacrifice'.

The three catechisms derived from Luther's we have been considering did not invoke the Crucifixion—and with it, Luther's particular understanding of 'sacrifice'. All three did, however, visualize the offering of the chalice as well as the host. The 1541 Rhau edition of Spangenberg offered another way to visualize Luther's doctrine of presence (Fig. 133), setting two woodcuts side-by-side on sequential pages in the codex. The one on the left, which, in the practice of



FIGURE 133 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasst* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 248<sup>r</sup>–49. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

reading, normally precedes the woodcut on the right, rendered contemporary worship: at the bottom, the base, the congregation facing the pulpit, which was at center in the image; to the left of the pulpit, infant baptism; to the right of the pulpit, the offering of the Lord's Supper, with the chalice clearly articulated between celebrant and recipient. The woodcut on the right renders the Last Supper, with the chalice on the edge of the table closest to the viewer.

The woodcut in the 1547 Augsburg edition of Spangenberg's *Large Catechism* was crudely executed, but nonetheless placed the Eucharist—signaled by two fragments on the covered table—in the same space with and in front of preaching, in the upper right corner.<sup>52</sup> The woodcut accompanying catechesis of the Sacrament of the Altar in Sarcerius's *Catechism* seems to have been an

52 Johannes Spangenberg, *Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstücke // verfasst* (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547), v (letter) iii.



adaptation of the woodcut in the 1547 Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion*: in the Sarcerius, the altar was on the left, instead of the right; but the retable was still discernible above it; and just beneath the top edge of the woodcut, the reader could discern markers of the Last Supper—figures around a table on which a platter holds a loaf of bread.<sup>53</sup> At front was a contemporary (signaled by the clothing) administration of the Lord's Supper in which both host and chalice were offered, again, respectively, to a lay man kneeling and a woman in a wimple standing.

In the 1531 and 1532 Rhau editions of the *German Catechism*, an "Exhortation to Confession" followed the entire catechism, the page marked as a separate text. Rhau used the same woodcut for both (Fig. 134).<sup>54</sup> Confession was rendered as an intimate exchange between a seated man in doctoral dress, who cups his ear, and a kneeling lay man, dressed in the fur collared cape of the prosperous bourgeois. In the 1547 Leipzig edition of the *Enchiridion*, confession was placed between baptism and the Lord's Supper. Once again, words directed the reader to specific biblical texts, Matthew 18 and John 20, even as the woodcut itself presented three figures in apostolic dress, a sleeping Peter to the side behind a half wall. The two editions of Spangenberg—in which confession was placed between baptism and the Lord's Supper in the codex—presented very different images: the woodcut accompanying the 1541 Rhau edition contained an image of Christ as the good shepherd, carrying his sheep; the Augsburg, an image of Christ, on the right, pointing to his Father, above, as he faced three apostles.<sup>55</sup> The Sarcerius *Catechism* carried no woodcut at all in its section on confession, which occurred at the very end of the codex.

The woodcuts in Luther's and Lutheran catechisms tended to be of two broad kinds: images which in one way or another encapsulated one moment or multiple moments in the biblical narrative—the creation of the sun, moon, stars, Eve; Moses receiving the tables of the law; the adoration of the

53 Erasmus Sarcerius, CATECHISMVS // Erasmi // Sarcerij / // Durch M. Bartholo=//meum Wagner / Diener der // Kirchen zu S. Thomas zu // Leipzig / mit vleis aus dem // Latein in das Deutsch ge=//bracht / troestlich vnd nuetzlich allen Christen.

54 Martin Luther, Deutsch Ca//techismus.// Mit einer newen vorrhede / //vnd vermanunge zu // der Beicht (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), CXXVII; Martin Luther, Deutsch // Catechis=//mus.// Mit einer newen Vorrhe=//de / und vermanunge zu // der Beicht (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1532), CXIX. The woodcut can be found in Schiller, *Ikographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, plate 387.

55 Johannes Spangenberg, Der Gros // Catechismus // und Kinder Lere / // d. Mart. Luth. // Fur die jungen Christen / jnn Fra=//gestuecke verfasset (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1541), 232; Johannes Spangenberg, Der Groß // Catechißmus und // Kinder Leere / // für die jungen Chri-//sten / in Fragstücke // verfasset (Augsburg: Valentin Othmar, 1547), n.p.

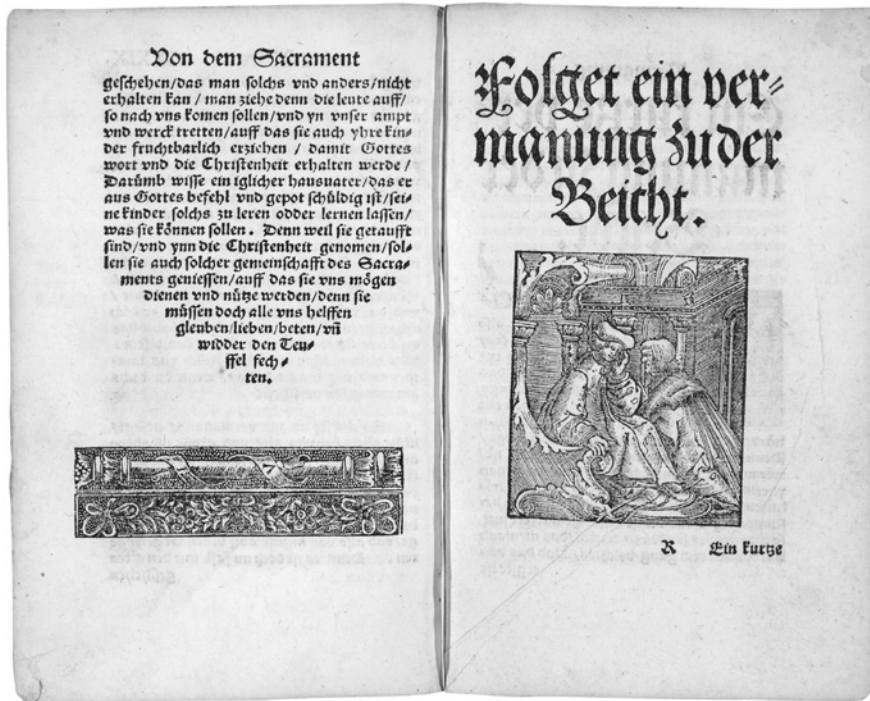


FIGURE 134 Martin Luther, *Deutsches Catechismus*. // Mit einer neuen vorrede // und vermanung zu // der Beicht. // (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1531), CXXVI<sup>r</sup>–CXXVII. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

golden calf; the Crucifixion—and images which rendered ideal contemporary practice, such as those for the Third Commandment, baptism, or the Lord's Supper. The content of all derived from Scripture, either as narrative or as prescription.

### Catholic Catechisms

From 1529 onwards, Luther's catechisms were published with woodcuts. No Catholic catechism was regularly published with woodcuts, not even those of Peter Canisius, whose Jesuit order drew so brilliantly on images in their broader educational enterprise.<sup>56</sup> The great majority of sixteenth-century Catholic catechisms were published without any figurative, allegorical, or

56 Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola*; Melion, "The Art of Vision"; Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem*.

emblematic art of any kind—no woodcuts, no borders, no initials.<sup>57</sup> Michael Holding's sermons were published more than once in folio format with elegant woodcuts, but these were intended for priests, not for the hands of catechumens.<sup>58</sup> Gaspar Contarini's catechism was published without any images.<sup>59</sup> A catechism attributed to Johannes Faber was published with a title page border, but no embedded images.<sup>60</sup> The first edition of Canisius's *Summa*, published by Michael Zimmermann in Vienna in 1555, contained three woodcuts, two of which, appearing at the beginning and end of Ferdinand's letter to the reader, were not embedded in the text of the catechism itself, and the third did not appear until the end of that part of the catechism which most directly matched Evangelical catechisms—between the section on the sacraments

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- 57 In addition to those discussed here, the catechisms of Conrad Cling, Georg Eder, and Jacob Schoepper were published without woodcuts of any kind: DN. CONRADI CLIN=// GII THEOLOGI ET ECCLESIASTÆ CELEBER=//rimi (dum uixit) apud Erphordiam Turingiæ, // CATECHISMVS CATHOLICVS, // Summam Christianæ institutionis IIII. libris succintim complectens (Cologne: Arnold Birckmann, 1562); Georg Eder, CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICVS // QVI ANTEA QVIDEM EX // DECRETO CONCILII TRIDENTI=//ni (Cologne: Gerwin Calenius & Johannes Quentel, [1569]); Jacob Schoepper, Catechismus // BREVIS ET CATHO // licus (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1554).
- 58 Michael Holding's folio-formatted sermons were printed with six large woodcuts, but it was intended for priests and the lectern: Michael Holding, CATECHISMVS // Christliche Unterweisung // und gegruendter Bericht / nach warer Catho=//lischer lehr uber die fuernemste stuecke unsers // heiligen Christen Glaubens (Mainz: Franz Behem bey Sanct Victor, 1551); CATECHISMVS CATHOLICVS (Cologne: Johannes Quentel, & Gerwin Calenius, 1562). When published duodecimo-formatted, his BREVIS // INSTITVTIO AD CHRISTIA=//nam Pietatem, secundum Doctrinam // Catholicam continens (Mainz: Schoeffer, 1550) did not have images.
- 59 Contarini composed his catechism in Latin, and Stephan Agricola then translated it into German: CATECHESIS // Oder // Kurtze Sum=//ma der Lehre der heiligen // Christlichen Kirchen / für // die Kinder vnd ein=//feltigen. // Gestellet in Lateinischer // Sprach / durch den Hochwür-//digsten in Gott / Vatter vnd Herrn / Herrn // Gaspar: Contarenus / der heiligen Roemi=//schen Kirchen Cardinal etc. Der Catho=//lischen jugent / vnd den einfeltigen // zuo nutz verdeütscht. // Durch // M. Stephanum Agricolam // Augustanum (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1560).
- 60 The catalogue in the Stadt- und Staatsbibliothek Augsburg cites DBE 3: 211–12 in its attribution. The title page provides the following information: Ain Christen//licher / rainer // Catechismus. // Das ist / bericht und under=//weisung der glaubigē / der Jugent // sehr guot / nutz / troestlich / und zuo // wissen von noeten / gantz kurtz // und trewlich durch ain // fridliebenden be=//schriben; the coda: Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart in der Kirchgassen bey Sant Ulrich. The DBE dates the catechism 1551.

and that on Christian justice, for which there was no Evangelical counterpart.<sup>61</sup> The title page of Johannes Nas's *Handbook* was singular (Fig. 135),<sup>62</sup> suggesting not only the fluidities of catechisms, but of the very categories by which that "knowledge" might be structured and catechized. Its obverse was an image of the Crucifixion (Fig. 136) that, as in Canisius's *Summa*, preceded the actual text of the catechism. That second image in particular evoked medieval picture catechisms, but within the catechism itself, the only woodcuts were decorated initials—some narrative, some symbolic—and none larger than an inch.

At least one surviving Catholic catechism engaged directly and explicitly with a Lutheran catechism and its images. In 1561, Gaspar Jennep published a *Catholischer Spangenbergischer Catechismus*, with 14 woodcuts for the first part, on the Apostles' Creed; 4 for the Lord's Prayer and 2 for the Ave Maria in the second part; one for the third part, on the Ten Commandments; and four for the fourth part, on the sacraments, including one of a priest performing "the holy sacrament of marriage".<sup>63</sup> His catechism did not follow the order of Spangenberg's—it began with the Apostles' Creed—but many of the woodcuts, as here (Fig. 137), addressed directly woodcuts published with Lutheran catechisms, containing small changes that shifted meaning. Here, in the woodcut for the eighth article of the Apostles' Creed, Mary is not only at center, but also larger than most of the apostles who surround and face her.

Jennep's edition was anomalous. Most surviving sixteenth-century catechisms did not engage in polemics, verbal or visual. They sought to teach "true doctrine"—what, for each, constituted "false doctrine" remained implicit, not explicit. Images, in particular, might have been used polemically<sup>64</sup>—in Lutheran catechisms, for example, woodcuts could have rendered contemporary "false worship"—but they did not.

That said, images could and did participate in the articulation of different Churches. They could do so through their content. Images could attach

61 Peter Canisius, SVMMA // DOCTRINAE // CHRISTIANE. (Vienna: Michael Zimmermann, 1555): <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=635017130&db=100>. The images appear on the reverse of the first page of Ferdinand's letter to the reader (ai<sup>v</sup>) and facing the last page of his letter (avii), and at p. 117 (vi), as well as a full page colophon at the end.

62 Johannes Nas, Handbuechlein // Des klein Christia=//nismi / vom rechten // Glauben / thuon vnd las=//sen / hoffnen vnnd foerch=//tens / kurtz vnd guot / // leicht vnd nutz=//lich (Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1570).

63 Catholischer // Spangēbergi=//scher// Catechismus, // Für die jungen Christen. Auß der // Heiliger Schrifft / vnd aeltesten Kir=//chen Lehrern / so vor Tausent // Jaren gelebt / in Frage=//stuck verfasst (Cologne: Gaspar Jennep, 1561).

64 R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1994).





FIGURE 135 Johannes Nas, *Handbuechlein // Des klein Christia-nismi / vom rechten // Glauben / thun vnd las-sen / hoffen vnnd forch-*  
*tens / kurtz vnd guot / // leicht vnd nutz-//lich* (Ingolstadt:  
 Alexander Weissenhorn, 1570), title page. Staats- und  
 Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



Ich glaub ein Heilige/Gemaine/Apostolische Kirchen/  
gemeinschaft der Heyligen.

Die 3. Väter haben allezeit die ienigen glaubens Confes-  
sion/ für die Catholischen Kirchen gehalten / wölcher der  
Röm. Papst / S. Peters nachkümeling auff erden/ordenlich  
vorstehe. Item.



Wer die Kirch nit hört / der wirdt ein Heyd vnnd offter  
Sündler erkannt / vnd wüde niemandt Gott zum Vater  
haben/ der die Mütter veracht. Ep.

Die Kirch/Gottes Hauß/ ist ein Seül vnnd Feisten der  
warheit/ darinn will ich fünff wort/wie ichs mein/ an-  
den zur leb/ reden / nützer denn zehntausent vnuer-  
ständiger. 1. Thim. 3. 1. Cor. 14.

FIGURE 136

Johannes Nas, *Handbuechlein // Des klein Christia=//nismi / vom  
rechten // Glauben / thuon vnd las=//sen / hoffen vnnd foerch=//  
tens / kurtz vnd guot / // leicht vnd nutz=//lich* (Ingolstadt:  
Alexander Weissenhorn, 1570), obverse of title page. Staats- und  
Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.



FIGURE 137 *Jaspar von Gennep, Catholischer // Spangēbergi=//scher// Catechismus, // Für die jungen Christen. Auß der // Heiliger Schrift / vnd aeltesten Kir=//chen Lehrern / so vor Tausent // Jaren gelebt / in Frage-//stuck verfasset (Cologne: Gaspar Jennep, 1561), xlv. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.*

specific visual attributes to words, thereby helping to define one Church and not another. They could anchor the words of the catechism to biblical narrative or prescription. They could clothe God and Christ in imperial or papal regalia. They could place a priest in alb and chasuble or a pastor in the robes of a doctor of Sacred Scripture in a woodcut for the Commandment to honor the Sabbath. They could visualize “the holy catholic Church” of the Creed as marked by papal tiara and episcopal crozier.

Perhaps the earliest of Canisius’s catechisms to have embedded woodcuts, an octavo-formatted German version, published in 1563, some eight years after the *Summa* was first published, offers one example of the ways images might serve to help define one Church.<sup>65</sup> The woodcuts range in quality, from crude to finely worked, and size, from half-page to full. The woodcut of Creation which accompanied catechesis of the first article (of twelve) of the Creed shared content with the woodcuts printed with the 1532 Rhau edition of Luther’s *German Catechism*, the 1541 Rhau edition of Spangenberg’s *Large Catechism*, and the 1550 edition of Sarcerius’s *Catechism*—God calling Eve from the side of Adam—though, in the woodcut accompanying Canisius’s catechism, God is crowned, clearly marked as regnant. Turning the page, with its catechesis of the third article of the Creed, the catechism presented an image no Evangelical catechism set forth, the Annunciation. Also within catechesis of the Apostles’ Creed, an image very much like one that might have been found in a Lutheran catechism, of Pentecost including Mary, was followed, just one page later, by a very different image of “the holy catholic Church”, which included bishops and saints such as Christopher (Fig. 138). Throughout the catechism, details in the woodcuts distinguished it visually and immediately from any Evangelical catechism. In the woodcut accompanying the second petition of the Lord’s Prayer, for example, a tonsured friar points, as the Evangelical preacher had done, to the Crucifixion, at the foot of which also appears Mary, who appeared rarely in Evangelical catechisms.

Woodcuts could also offer visualizations—and perhaps memorable images—of those parts for which there was no counterpart in other Churches’ catechisms. All Canisius’s catechisms contained catechesis of the Ave Maria, the prayer the catechumen was to learn after the Lord’s Prayer. In the Dillingen

65 Peter Canisius, CATECHISMVS.// Kurtze Erclae=//rung der fürnemsten stuck//des wahren Catholischen // Glaubens. Auch rechte vnd Catholi=//sche form zu betten.//Alles von newem mit fleiß gebessert // vnd gemehret (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1563). According to WorldCat, two copies survive. The one from which these images come, in the collection of the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, is badly damaged and a number of images are barely discernible.

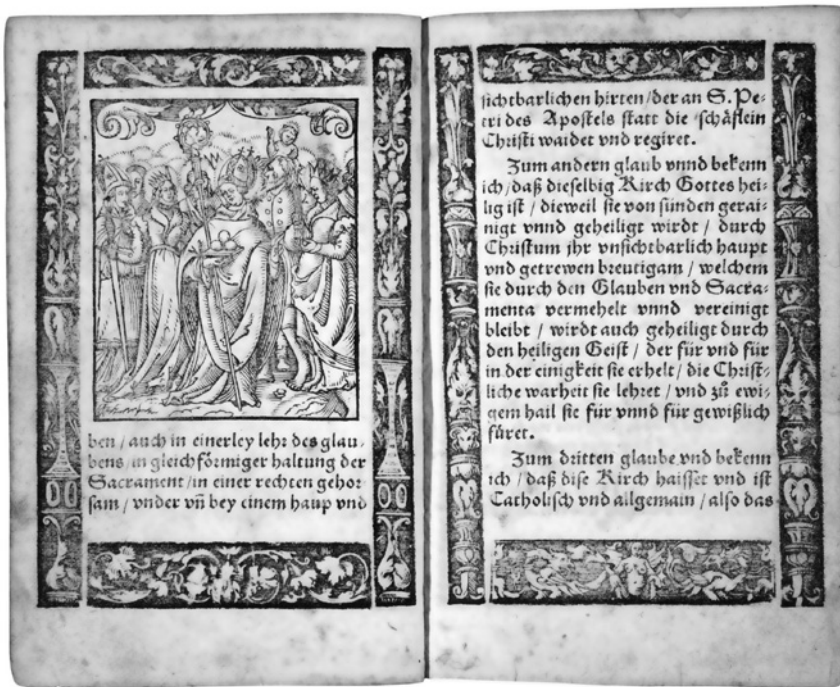


FIGURE 138 Peter Canisius, *CATECHISMVS. // Kurtze Erclae // rung der fürnemsten stuck // des wahren Catholischen // Glaubens. Auch rechte vnd Catholi // sche form zu betten. // Alles von newem mit fleiß gebessert // vnd gemehret* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1563), Dvii–Dviii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

edition, the prayer was prefaced by a large woodcut, elaborately carved, of the Annunciation (Fig. 139). Mary knelt at a prie-dieu, one of the many objects of devotion Evangelicals eliminated—and thus an object that distinguished the woodcut implicitly. The symbol of the Holy Spirit, the dove, was placed directly above her head, radiating light and, implicitly, knowledge to the person whose medieval cult Evangelicals had, again, rejected. The angel, Gabriel, dominated the left half of the woodcut, his wings, far more elaborate than the dove's, fully extended, his hand at exact center of the image—his presence an affirmation of divine communication that was not scriptural, but was intimate, the kind of divine communication that had marked the life of founder of Canisius's order, St. Ignatius. The enclosed space of the image is divided by a column, traversed by Gabriel's wing, which, in turn, was one of the arma Christi,<sup>66</sup> objects invok-

66 Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, eds., *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture* (Farnham, 2014).



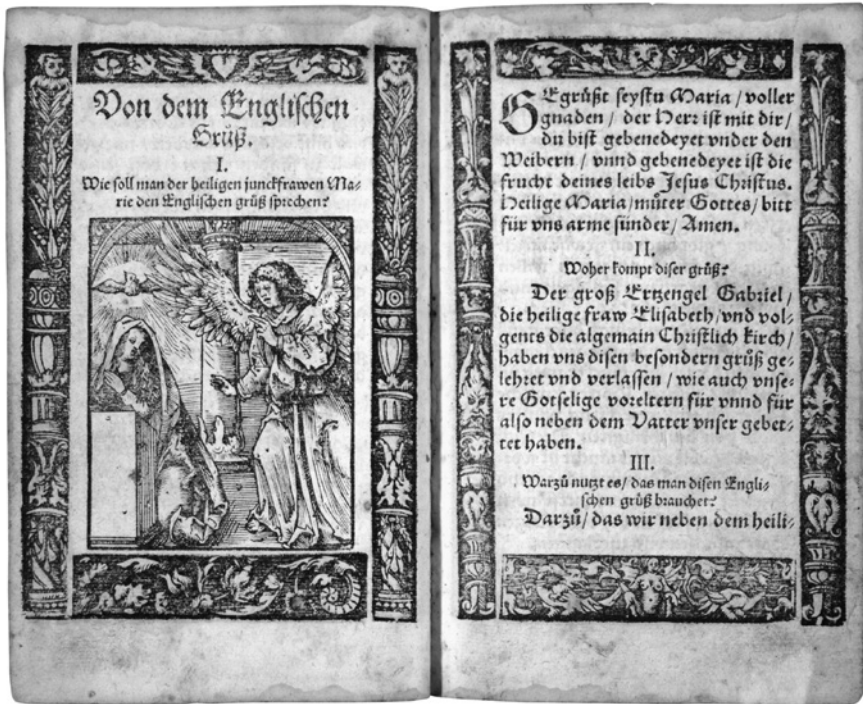


FIGURE 139 Peter Canisius, *CATECHISMVS. // Kurtze Erclae // rung der fürnemsten stuck // des wahren Catholischen // Glaubens. Auch rechte vnd Catholi- // sche form zu betten. // Alles von newem mit fleiß gebessert // vnd gemehret* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1563), Fvii<sup>r</sup>–Fviii. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

ing the Passion—the suffering that her son was to undergo as a part of his ‘sacrifice’. This one small image, in visualizing a prie-dieu, an angel, Mary receiving divine knowledge, and invoking, through one of its instruments, one of the most dramatic events of the liturgical year, was no simple accompaniment to the Ave Maria. From the small plane of the page, it affirmed a particular conceptualization of time—in which the Passion with its culmination in the Crucifixion is foreshadowed in the moment of the Annunciation—of the very nature of liturgy, and of the role of prayer, at once humble and in the intimacy of divine love.

The woodcuts and engravings in catechisms also constructed different Churches through differing modes of visual communication. While both Lutheran and Catholic catechisms might have exempla drawn from Scripture or biblical narrative images on their pages, only in Catholic catechisms might one find on the page emblematic images, allegories, and iconic representations



of Christ, his face, the Crucifixion. Woodcuts in Lutheran catechisms linked those catechisms visually to the Old Testament and Gospel narratives of Christ's life—the images presented a specific conception of time, historical and linear, and implicitly located Lutheran Churches in that continuum. At least one edition of Canisius's catechisms drew upon a broad range of kinds of images: emblems,<sup>67</sup> allegories, meditative images, as well as depictions of biblical narratives.

The last of the catechisms to be considered in this chapter is, like the Gennepe, a trace of a path not taken (Fig. 140). In 1575, Johannes Bellerus, a German printer resident in Antwerp, published an edition of Canisius's *Institutiones christianae pietatis*, which, as the title page announced, contained his *Little Catechism*.<sup>68</sup> This was not the first edition of this particular version of Canisius's catechism: one of Canisius's briefer catechisms—either the *Little Catechism* or the *Catechism for Catholics*—had been published in this format in a number of editions, beginning in 1566, by publishers in Antwerp, Cologne, and Dillingen.<sup>69</sup> As Christopher Plantin had done in 1566 and 1574, Bellerus chose to publish the *Institutiones* with woodcuts; unlike Plantin, he also chose to embed in the *Little Catechism* some 38 woodcuts.<sup>70</sup> Those woodcuts engaged with the text of the catechism in ways found in no other surviving catechism—they pose a different conceptualization of “knowledge”, at once harmonious

67 On emblems, see John Manning, *The Emblem* (London, 2002); Peter M. Daly and John Manning, eds., *Aspects of Renaissance and Baroque Symbol Theory, 1500–1700* (New York, 1999); Peter M. Daly, ed., *Companion to Emblem Studies* (New York, 2008).

68 Peter Canisius, INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM.// (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575). According to Paul Beghyn, the woodcuts were designed by Anthony van Leest, *Petrus Canisius en zijn catechismus: De geschiedenis van een bestseller/ Peter Canisius and his catechism: The history of a bestseller* (Nijmegen, 2005), 51.

69 “The 1566-Plantin edition seems to be the first with the title *Institutiones christianae pietatis, seu parvus catechismus*, but was perhaps not the very first edition of the Parvus catechismus published by the Plantin press”, Voet, *The Plantin Press*, 11: 537.

70 Of the 38, five are repeated; there are 32 discrete woodcuts in the catechism. Reproductions of the images can be found in *Canisii Catechismi Latini et Germanici*, Part. 1: *Catechismi Latini*, 238–61.

Beginning in 1566, Christopher Plantin published Canisius's *Institutiones et Exercitamenta christianae pietatis*, which contained Canisius's *Catechismus catholicorum*. Plantin published the *Institutiones et Exercitamenta christianae pietatis* with four woodcuts in 1566 and 5 woodcuts in 1574, Voet, *The Plantin Press*, 11: 544–7. The woodcuts, however, were not placed in the part of the codex containing the catechism. Plantin also published Canisius's *Manuale Catholicorum*, beginning in 1588, with engravings by Pieter van der Borch, Voet, *The Plantin Press*, 11: 548–49.

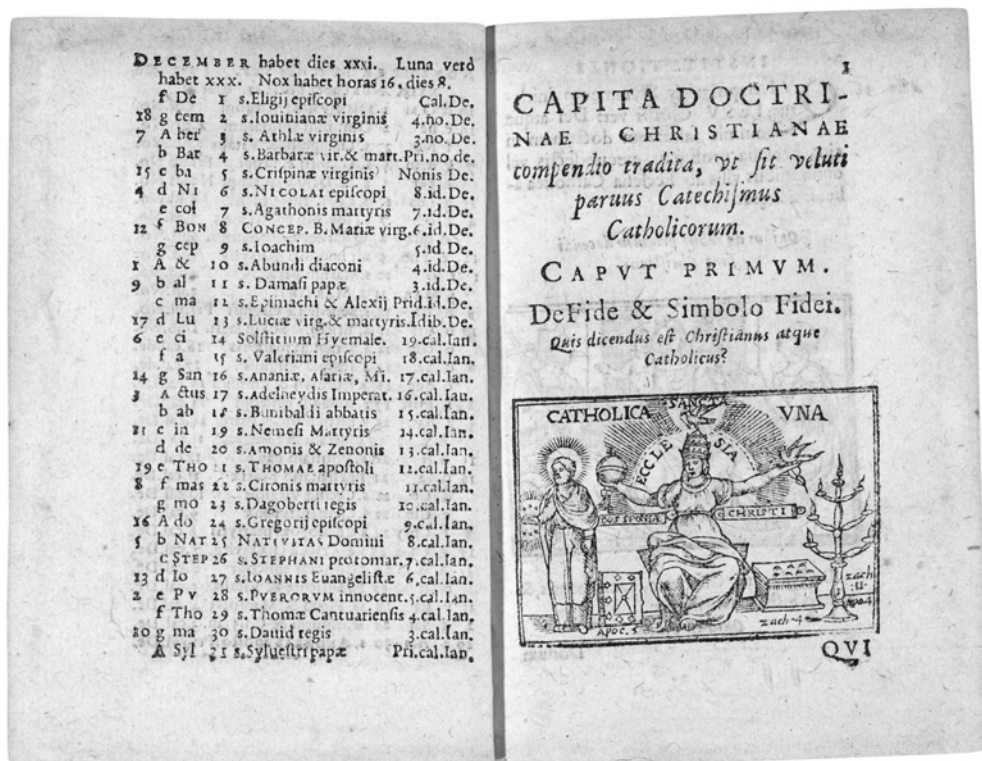


FIGURE 140 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), December + p. 1. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

with Canisius's larger catechetical enterprise, but, it would seem, singular in codicil catechisms.

The first woodcut in the codex appeared on the title page: a tiny Crucifixion scene. The next woodcut, of Ecclesia (Fig. 140),<sup>71</sup> appeared on the first page of

71 On Jesuit emblems, see, foremost, Peter M. Daly and G. Richard Dimler, S.J., eds., *The Jesuit Series* (Corpus librorum emblematum) (Montreal & Kingston, 1997f); John Manning and Marc van Vaecck, eds., *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition* (Imago Figurata Studies, 1a) (Turnhout, 1999); *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern*. See also, the first part, "Ignatius and the Society of Jesus," in *Emblematic Images and Religious Texts*, ed. Pedro F. Campa and Peter M. Daly (Philadelphia, 2010). For a discussion of the problems of definition, see G. Richard Dimler, S.J., "Jesuit Emblems: Implications for the Index Emblematicus," in *The European Emblem: Towards an Index Emblematicus*, ed. Peter M. Daly (Waterloo, 1980), 109–120.

the *Little Catechism*. Bellerus printed the first page of the catechism, with its striking image, facing the last page of the liturgical calendar.<sup>72</sup> As the pagination makes explicit, the calendar is a paratext, a frame<sup>73</sup>—one of the multiple texts that prefaced the catechism: a brief poem addressed to the Christian reader, a brief poem to Christian boys, a longer letter to the Christian reader, the imperial edict, and then the calendar.<sup>74</sup>

From the first edition of the *Institutiones*, published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1566, the ancient structuring of the Christian year prefaced catechesis in the spatial logic of the codex. Bellerus, however, placed within the spatial frame formed by the two pages the two kinds of time, liturgical and catechetical. The former was cyclical—daily, weekly, annual. The latter was consciously constructed as a progression, linear in structure, which could be repeated as needed. Bellerus's particular placement visually called attention to a fact of Canisius's catechisms: the text with which they all began, the Apostles' Creed, was itself a part of the liturgy, as was the Lord's Prayer, which followed.<sup>75</sup> Even as catechesis itself had a different temporal structure than did the liturgy, the texts that it taught—Creed, Prayer, and sacraments—were integral to the liturgy.<sup>76</sup>

Within that same spatial frame encompassing liturgy and catechesis Bellerus placed the image of Ecclesia, whose named attributes were Catholica, Sancta, and Una. As in earlier editions, liturgical time was visually the paratext, the preface, for catechesis; in Bellerus, it was also the paratext for the woodcut, "Ecclesia". The woodcut presented the allegorical figure, "Church", "Ecclesia", female, crowned with the papal tiara, a small visual signal of the

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72 The first edition of the *Institutiones*, published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1566, did not contain woodcuts, nor place the last page of the liturgical calendar, the month of December, facing the first page of the Catechism, which was page 1 in the codex. The *Klare Erclaerung* was also published in a codex containing a liturgical calendar; as with Plantin's first edition, that calendar was not placed in the same visual plane as the catechism.

73 Though it corresponds to none of the paratexts Gerard Genette identified for modern texts, *Seuils* (Paris, 1987). So, too, modern discussions of 'frames' do not attend to liturgical time, *Framing Borders*.

74 This catechism was expressly addressed to boys. References to the catechumen, therefore, will use the masculine pronoun.

75 Plantin was also one of the major publishers of liturgical works, as well as the publisher in Antwerp authorized to print the Missal commissioned at the Council of Trent. See Léon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vol. IV (Amsterdam, 1982), 1528–1565.

76 The Commandments were central to the sacrament of penance, which was to occur at least once a year in the liturgical cycle, in preparation for receiving the Eucharist at Easter.

head of that Church. Her right hand held an orb—symbol of temporal power also evocative, by 1575, of the globe, the entirety of the earth—and her left, a dove, at once a symbol of peace and also replicating the symbol of the Holy Spirit, above Ecclesia's head. If the reader looked closely at the small image, he could see the keys hanging from the hand that held the orb. Those keys, in turn, enabled the catechumen to 'read' the figure on the left, whose beard and halo signaled one of the apostles, and whose hand, surrounded by stars, signaled the transfer of those keys to Ecclesia. To either side of the female figure were the words designating her as "spouse of Christ".

The bottom of the woodcut presented yet another kind of interplay of text and image. Reading left to right across the bottom of the woodcut the catechumen saw a closed codex, the meaning of which he was directed to find in the Book of Revelation 5; a seven-eyed plinth, the meaning of which he was directed to find in the prophet Zechariah, chapter 5; and a seven-armed candlestick, the meaning of which was to be found in the Book of Revelation 4 and Zechariah. As with Lutheran catechisms, this image directed the catechumen to Scripture. Unlike the Lutheran catechisms, the image was not narrative, but emblematic and allegorical. The objects and their textual exegeses invoked yet other kinds of time, prophecy and apocalypse—divinely given visions of the future and the end of days. In the woodcut, the "One Holy Catholic Church" was placed in the middle of multiple conceptions of time.

Bellerus placed the woodcut a total of three times in the catechesis of the Apostles' Creed and thus in the temporal process of catechesis.<sup>77</sup> It appeared for the second time with article nine of the Creed ("Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam"), bringing to that article its earlier visual associations, perhaps including the liturgical calendar and the month of Advent and the Incarnation (Fig. 141). In its second appearance in the catechism, it was placed opposite a woodcut of Pentecost, at the center of which was Mary, directly beneath the Holy Spirit, that is, the subject of the preceding article. With the spatial frame created by the two pages, Mary and the apostles were paired with Ecclesia. Both Mary and Ecclesia were seated. Mary was surrounded by the apostles, who circled her; Ecclesia was accompanied by the apostle upon whom Christ

77 Three other woodcuts each recur once: one of a priest preaching to a congregation, which occurs first with the Third Commandment (p. 32), and again with the First Commandment of the Church (p. 38); one of the Mass of Pope Gregory, which occurs first on the same page (p. 38), as the other woodcut, immediately preceding the Second Commandment of the Church, and once in catechesis of the Eucharist (p. 48); and one of a priest administering the sacrament of the Eucharist, first with the Fifth Commandment of the Church (p. 40), and then in the catechesis of the sacrament of the Eucharist (p. 46).

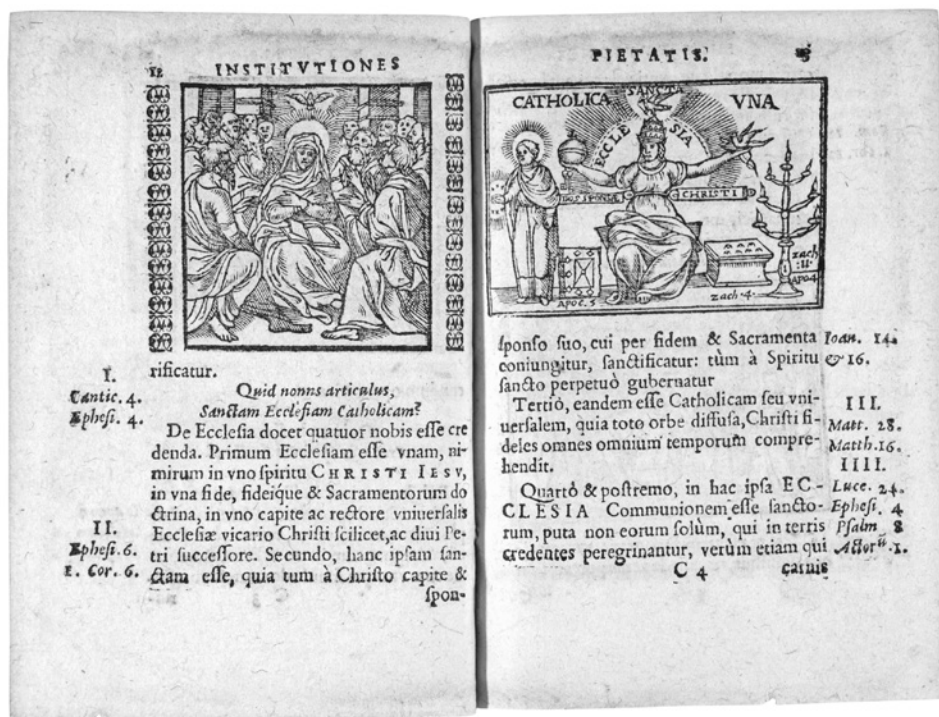


FIGURE 141 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 12–13. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

was to build his church, Peter. Mary's arms were crossed; Ecclesia's were spread wide open. Mary's head, wrapped in a wimple, was bowed in humility; Ecclesia's head, crowned with papal tiara, was held erect. Both female figures were placed directly beneath the dove of the Holy Spirit, whose identity was further designated by the word "Sancta" above it—a word above both dove and female figure.

The woodcut was placed for the third time in the summary catechesis of the Creed (Fig. 142). As the catechumen turned the page to read the answer to the question, "Quid est Ecclesia?" he saw the now familiar woodcut even as he spoke aloud the words, "It is the congregation of all those who profess the Christian faith and doctrine, which is governed under one, who after Christ, is the supreme head and pastor on earth". As the catechumen spoke the words, the woodcut visualized one Church—the figure delineated at center of the image—and a hierarchy of governance, signaled by the papal tiara Ecclesia wore. The last question, on the facing page, asked for a simple rule by which



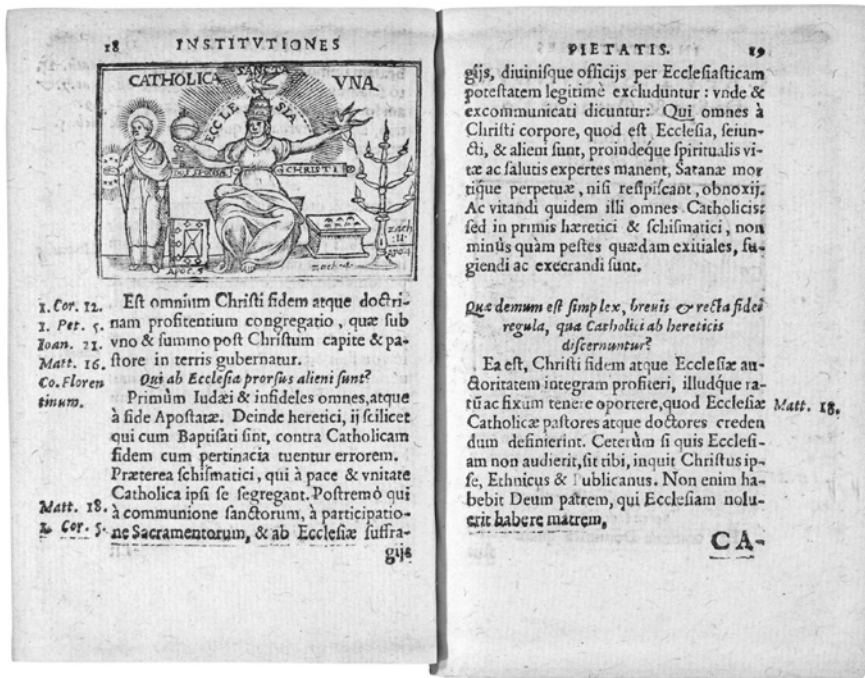


FIGURE 142 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 18–19. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

one might discern Catholics from heretics; the answer: “to profess that the Christian faith and the authority of Ecclesia are integral . . . For he will not have God as his Father who will not have Ecclesia as his mother”. The image thus called particular attention to the word, “Ecclesia” or “Church”, as it occurred in the Apostles’ Creed, bringing visual associations to it and linking those three textual locations with a single image.

In the chapter on the Apostles’ Creed, Bellerus printed a woodcut for each of the twelve petitions (see Figs. 20 and 28). He did not do this for each petition of the Lord’s Prayer or each Commandment. The chapter on the sacraments also had a woodcut for each sacrament, at points, more than one woodcut. In these two chapters, on the Creed and sacraments, the number—of articles and of sacraments—was itself a point of conflict, but only in the chapter on the Apostles’ Creed did the number of woodcuts affirm the number the catechism taught. So, too, the different kinds of woodcuts in the chapter on the Apostles’ Creed engaged obliquely, but accessibly, with the implications of the Incarnation for representation: the face of Christ might be the focus of

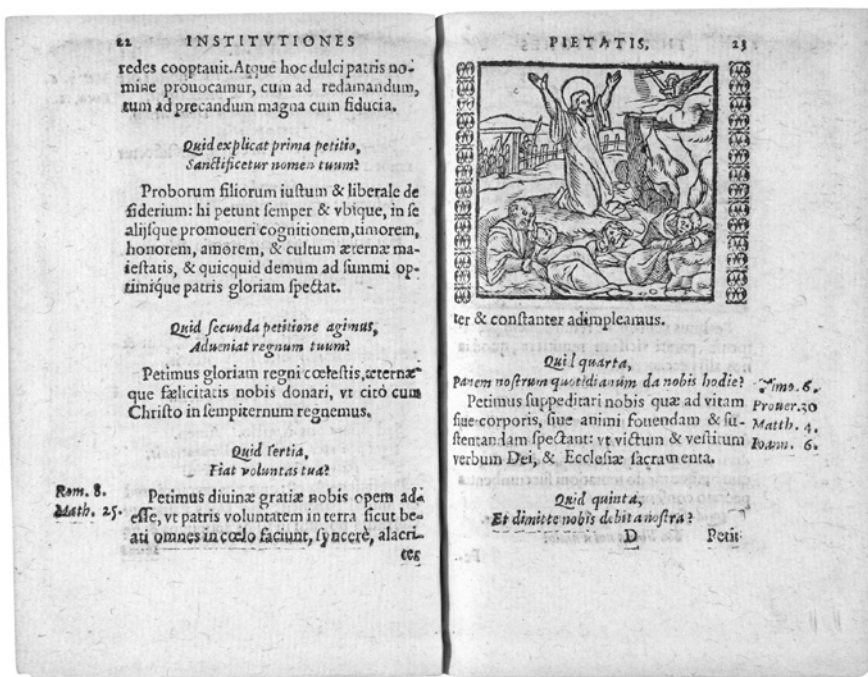


FIGURE 143 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 22–23. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

contemplation (Fig. 28), or the Crucifixion, which invited a different train of meditation; Christ's life offered instantiations of divine acts; and Christ, like the Holy Spirit, was eternally present among his faithful. The complex interplay among the woodcuts—the repetition of the one of Ecclesia, the diversity of kinds of images—itself enacted dimensions of the rich fabric of late medieval Christianity and its own many-layered interreferentiality.

Bellerus chose to provide woodcuts for just two of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. As the catechumen spoke aloud the meaning of the third petition, "your will be done", he looked upon an image of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane (Fig. 143). In this one, an angel offered the cross—not a chalice—as the armed mob approached from the background. Within Canisius's catechism, and in Bellerus's edition with its multiple woodcuts preceding this one, this woodcut may well have accrued other resonances—a more detailed sense of the life of Christ, the possibility of locating this woodcut within a narrative formed by earlier woodcuts in the Apostles' Creed, a sense of the cross not as final or a burden, but a moment, a station, in a longer process.

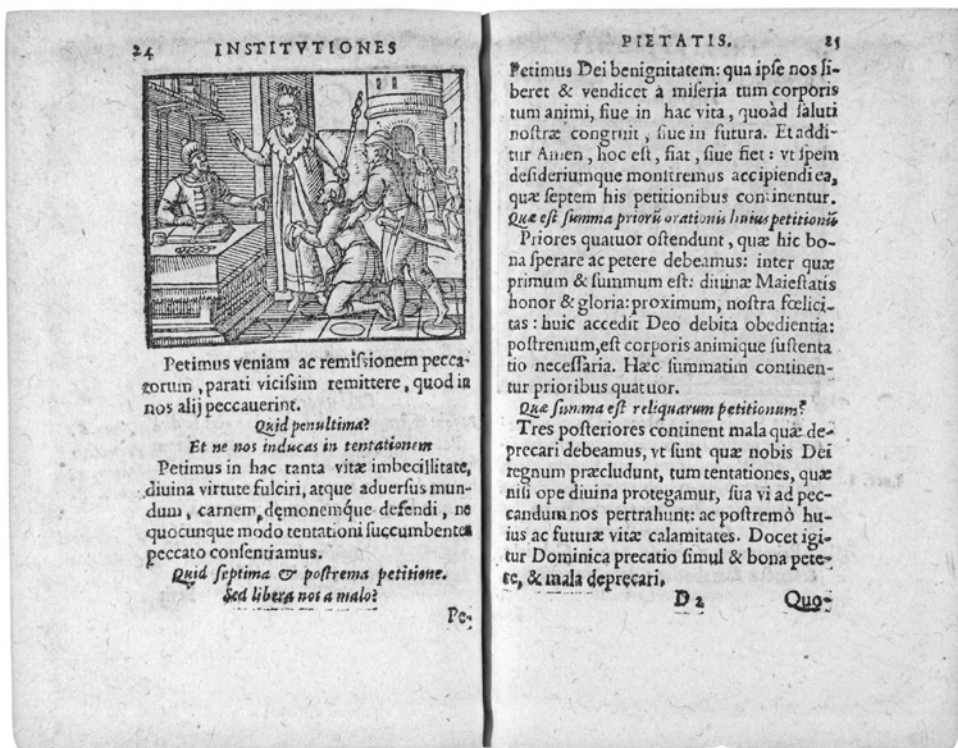


FIGURE 144 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 24–25. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

The second woodcut accompanying catechesis of the Lord's Prayer followed immediately the prompt for the fifth petition, "and forgive us our debts" (Fig. 144). Like the woodcuts accompanying Luther's teaching of the same petition, this one visually rendered "debts" as a financial transaction. But there was one marked difference: the kneeling figure. Here was no merchant—no fur collar, no rich robes—but an artisan, who held his cap and kneeled in supplication. The standing figure, regnant in his crown and robe as well as in the plane of the woodcut, whose staff was directly behind the kneeling figure and who was turned to the man seated at the bank, with ledger and coins, gave specific form to the words the catechumen recited, "We pray for the pardon and remission of sins, being prepared in turn to forget however others have sinned against us".

As with the chapter on the Lord's Prayer, so in the chapter on the Ten Commandments Bellerus chose not to provide woodcuts for each

Commandment. The next woodcut appeared immediately after the prompt for what the catechism taught as the Third Commandment, “Remember to sanctify the Sabbath day”. Like the Lutheran catechisms, the woodcut presented an image of contemporary worship, but with significant differences: a priest, marked by his stole, in a pulpit; laity marked by their dress seated and standing, women and men holding their caps in their hands, attending to the sermon; and at the rear an open altarpiece of the Crucifixion, signaling the presence of the altar. The same woodcut appeared a second time with the first of the Church’s Commandments (Fig. 145), in a trilogy rendering preaching (the Commandment to celebrate the Church’s feast days); the Mass of Pope Gregory<sup>78</sup> (the Commandment to listen reverently to the Mass on those feast days); and the sacrament of confession (the Commandment to confess one’s sins to a priest at least once a year). It thus served visually to link the Commandment to observe the Sabbath that all four catechisms taught, to those specific to the Catholic Church: to celebrate the Church’s feast days, to hear Mass, and to confess once a year.

Another woodcut linked in yet another way. A scene of a priest administering the chalice to kneeling lay men and a woman, first prefaced the next chapter, “On the sacraments”, as well as the first questions: “What is a sacrament?” “How many sacraments are there?” “Why are sacraments to be honored and highly esteemed?” (Fig. 146) It encapsulated not an answer to these questions, but a theme that subsequent woodcuts were to explicate, through the presence of the priest, the chalice, the monstrance—which would hold a host—and the altarpiece of the Crucifixion. It appeared for a second time in the part on the sacrament of the Eucharist (Fig. 147).

A number of woodcuts rendered the chalice; altarpieces, as we have seen, were also to be found in a number of woodcuts; and the monstrance that appears in Figure 147 also appears in the other two woodcuts. The chalice not only held the wine that, in the moment of consecration, became the blood of Christ, but itself served as a symbol for that blood. The monstrance protected and enclosed the host, which, when consecrated, became the body of Christ, allowing the devout to see, but not to touch the host; it would have been familiar as an object carried in processions of the host on such feast days as

78 On images of the Mass of Pope Gregory, see Andreas Gormans and Thomas Lentjes, eds., *Das Bild der Erscheinung: Die Gregorsmesse im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 2007); Caroline Walker Bynum, “Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century,” in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché, eds., *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2006), 208–40; Esther Meier, *Die Gregorsmesse: Funktionen eines spätmittelalterlichen Bildtypus* (Cologne, 2006).



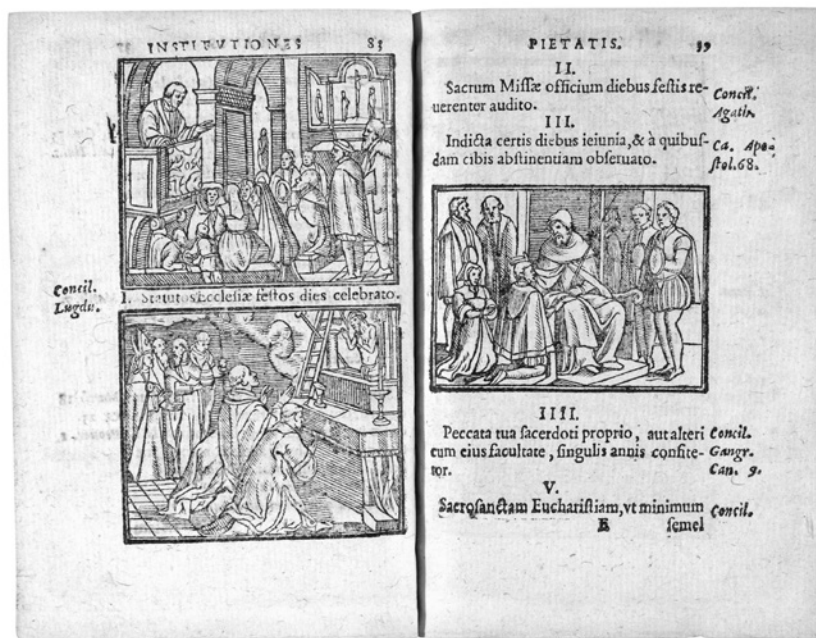


FIGURE 145 Peter Canisius, *INSTITUTEIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 38–39. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

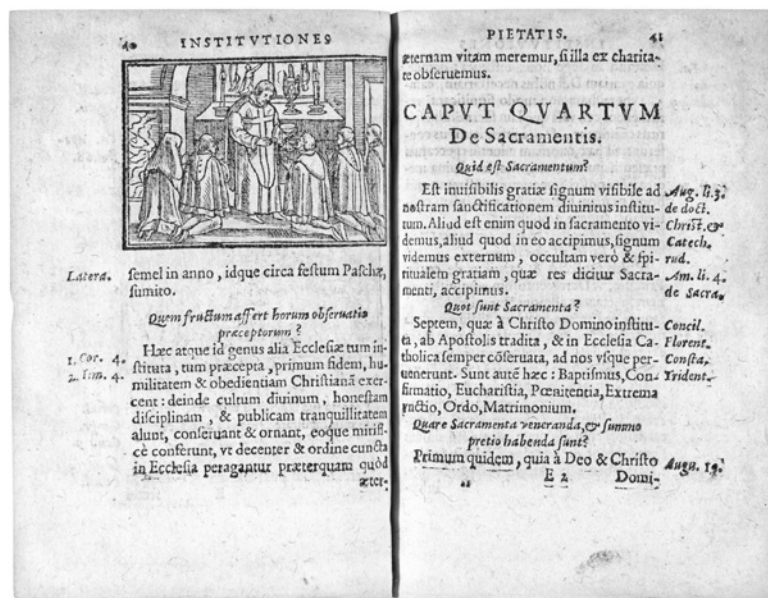


FIGURE 146 Peter Canisius, *INSTITUTEIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 40–41. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.





FIGURE 147 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 46–47. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

Corpus Christi.<sup>79</sup> The altarpiece represented the moment of sacrifice—the offering of the body and the shedding of blood—narrated in the Canon of the Mass. The second appearance of this woodcut was within catechesis on the Eucharist (p. 48 in the codex), on a page facing the monstrance, and immediately following the question: “what is the manner of change through those words spoken by the priest at consecration?” As the catechumen read the words on the page, that the change occurred “through Christ, working through these very words, the bread and the wine are converted into the body

79 Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich, 1932); Achim Timmermann, “The Eucharist on the Eve of the Reformation,” in Lee Palmer Wandel, ed., *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation* (Leiden, 2014), 370–2; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

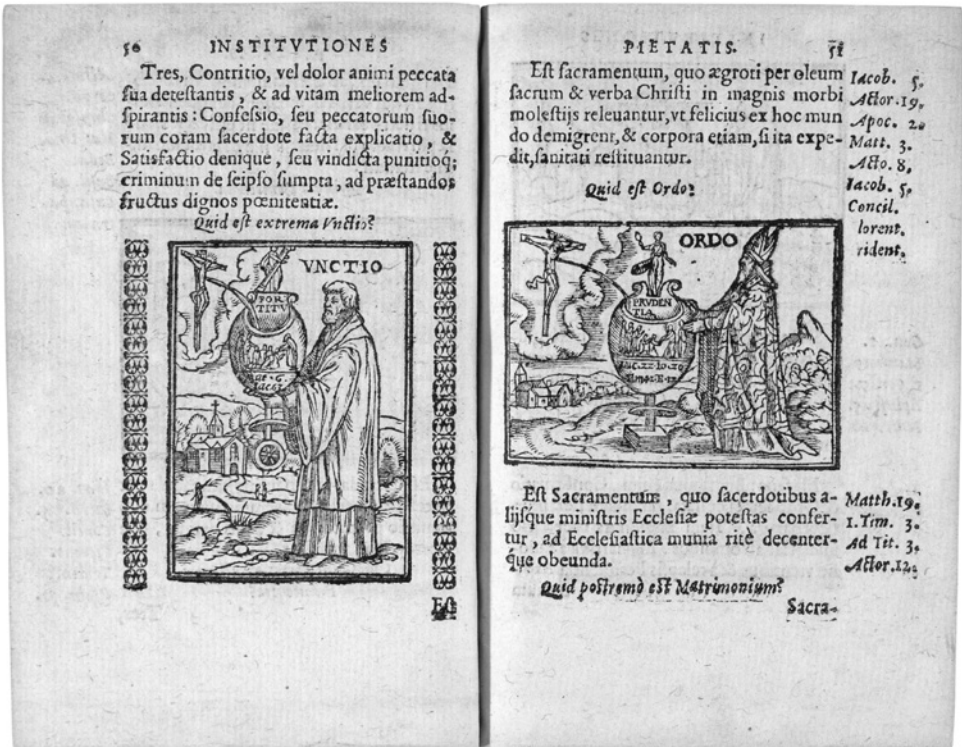


FIGURE 148 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS // CATHOLICORVM* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellerus, 1575), 50–51. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg.

and the blood of our Lord, and afterward, neither bread nor wine remain in the Eucharist;<sup>80</sup> he looked upon images of the material signs—the chalice and its implied wine, the host—the elements.

In Bellerus's edition, eleven images were emblematic: Ecclesia; one for each of the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity (Figures 17 and 49); and one for each of the seven sacraments. The seven woodcuts for the sacraments visualized the number of sacraments that the catechism taught (Fig. 148). Like the Van der Weyden altarpiece, the figure of the crucified Christ linked all the sacraments. Unlike the Van der Weyden altarpiece, that connection was not articulated on a single plane: the seven visually linked baptism, confirmation,

80 Peter Canisius, *INSTITVTIONES // CHRISTIANAE // PIETATIS // SEV // PARVVS CATECHISMVS* (Antwerp: Johannes Bellarus, 1575), p. 46.

the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage through the repeated presence in each woodcut of the bleeding crucified Christ and through the blood that arced between Christ and each individual sacrament, as well as through shared type font, used for each sacrament's name.

Like Van der Weyden's altarpiece, the woodcuts linked the seven sacraments to the Crucifixion; like a number of late medieval graphic images of the sacraments, they linked them through Christ's blood as it flowed from his side as he hung on the cross. Even as they drew on that medieval tradition, however, they also deployed the visual device of the cartouche, visually linking the sacraments to maps and spatial itineraries.<sup>81</sup> The form of the cartouche suggested not only a legend, but the complex interplay of a name, "penance" or "Eucharist", and an experience encompassing all of the senses as well as the intellect and the soul.

Font and Crucifixion linked the seven sacraments. The wheel and the pediment signaled a key difference among them, which the catechumen learned in the last question. Those that were represented as materially fixed—baptism, confirmation, orders—could never be repeated or undone. Baptism, as its font now could be read as suggesting, was to be offered to all. Those sacraments marked with the wheel—Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, and marriage—by implication, could be repeated, but they, the catechumen learned, were to be administered to those "of reason" (the Eucharist), "the relapsed" (penance), and (for the others), as occasion required. The clergy guiding the wheeled cartouches implicitly were those who made the determination of reason, relapse, and occasion.

In different ways, individual woodcuts in the Bellerus edition pointed beyond the pages of the catechism—to the Mass, to liturgical time and prophecy, to devotional art that might be found in churches, in homes, in other kinds of devotional codices, and to emblems. From that first woodcut, Bellerus's edition located the catechism within the dense interreferentiality of Catholic visual culture. "Ecclesia" was the only woodcut Bellerus used three times in the catechism, suggesting visually that knowledge of "the Church" accrued—a way of thinking analogous to Canisius's multiple catechisms, which were addressed to different kinds of readers of different levels of education.

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81 Cf. Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis, 1996); Tom Conley, *An Errant Eye: Poetry and Topography in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis, 2011).

## Conclusion

The relationship of image to text differed from one catechism to the next in the sixteenth century, even as all differed from medieval picture catechisms. So, too, European catechisms published with woodcuts or engravings differed from the pictograph catechisms of the western hemisphere. Catechisms intended for European readers all gave preeminence to words. With one possible exception. At least one of Canisius's catechisms suggested that words were not unlike a legend—naming signs which one could only know through experience—that “knowledge” was not “contained” in a codex. But among surviving catechisms, Bellerus's edition is a trace of a path not taken.





FIGURE 149 *Martin Luther, Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarher vnd Predigerr / Gemehret vnd gebessert, durch Mart. Luther (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1529), n.p. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Bibliothek, Nuremberg.*



## Conclusion

In the Library of the German National Museum in Nuremberg is a tiny codex, no more than three inches square, water stained, its edges frayed. Its cover and its title page are gone. Pages have either fallen or been torn out. The last page survives: Nickel Schirlentz published it in Wittenberg in 1529. From that information, presumably, it has been catalogued: Luther, Martin, *Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarher vnd Predigerr / Gemehret vnd gebessert, durch Mart. Luther*.<sup>1</sup> According to Josef Benzing, this is the sole surviving copy of Schirlentz's 1529 edition.<sup>2</sup> More copies of the Strasbourg *Isagoge* survive than do copies of the first editions of that catechism which would, by the end of the century, be printed in Danish, Swedish, Spanish, Polish, as well as Dutch, German, Latin, and English.

Codex and person. There are so many possible relations, from God's Word, the printed Bible, which Luther and others sought to have anchor each and every Christian life, to those works, read once and placed on a shelf for reference. For Luther, catechisms were to be little Bibles—a material locus where Christians could find their spiritual orientation. And yet, they were not to be treated as Bibles—even those, like the Schirlentz edition, which were so beautifully hand-colored. Catechisms, for Luther, as for dozens of sixteenth-century pastors, were not to be placed on a lectern, shelf, or table. They were intended for the hands—to be held, the pages turned and turned, until the words on each page became embodied in the reader.

And among the hundreds of catechisms printed in the sixteenth century, most, like the Strasbourg *Isagoge*, proved ephemeral ecclesiologically—most were not reprinted and reprinted, pirated and adapted. Most, like the catechisms for the Churches of Strasbourg, Ulm, and Augsburg, were transient: printed for a Church that itself disappeared over the course of the century.

A few became embodied—perhaps not immediately, perhaps not in that first generation, but over time, such that the questions on their pages prompt, even today, the answer that is also printed on their pages. Whether centering, as did Luther's, on redemption, or as did the Heidelberg Catechism, on a movement from misery to gratitude, some catechisms, over time, did indeed

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1 The Library lists as its source for this the *Verzeichnis der Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, VD16 L 5036, which in turn cites Josef Benzing, with Helmut Claus, *Lutherbibliographie: Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod*, 2nd ed. (Baden-Baden, 1989), vol. 1, no. 2597.

2 This author, title, and date have no entry at all in World Cat.

succeed in blurring the distinction between codex and person—persuading readers over generations that there on the page was the knowledge essential to being a Christian.

At what point? The answer to that question lies beyond this study. We cannot assume, as earlier historians did,<sup>3</sup> that the very existence of catechisms meant they were necessarily read as they were intended to be read. So, too, efforts to measure the “success” of catechesis have been controversial at best.<sup>4</sup> Both miss what sixteenth-century printed catechisms did. The one assumes an ongoing and established praxis of catechesis, the other accepts sixteenth-century catechisms’ premise: that the “knowledge” contained in the codex is the measure of religious identity. But codicil catechisms had never previously been produced in such numbers, such that authors could hope for a catechism in each home. And catechisms’ claim that what a Christian needed to know was to be found within them—that was new.

Sixteenth-century authors of catechisms bound catechesis and codex as never before. They expressly sought print’s particular materiality to fix the wording and the syntax of the ancient Credo, Pater Noster, and Decalogue. Along with publishers they used type, font size, and spacing to teach one way of speaking creed, prayer, and Commandments. They used the particular spatiality of the page to visualize their different divisions of ancient words: into twelve articles or three or four; into seven petitions or three; and into different Commandments. They broke the words into segments of breath and meaning, clauses and sentences learned and spoken aloud, their meaning at once explicated on the page and embedded in the cadences, in the breathing itself.

Sixteenth-century authors of catechisms also looked to the particular multiplicity of the printed codex to establish a particular wording, a particular syntax, and their accompanying explications for Christians dispersed across Europe and, ultimately, the globe. In his lifetime, Canisius’s catechisms were printed from London to Rome, from Vienna to Madrid, and carried to the western hemisphere. In his lifetime, John Calvin’s were published in Greek, English, Gaelic, Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish, as well as Latin and French. The Heidelberg Catechism was translated into Dutch the year it appeared, into English in 1572, into French in 1590, and into Czech, Greek, Hungarian, and

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3 Peter Göbl, for instance, assumed that the content of the catechisms that survive from the Middle Ages was what European Christians knew, *Geschichte der Katechese im Abendlande vom Verfall des Katechumenats bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Kempten, 1880). Reader Response Theory and Hermeneutics, in particular, have complicated models of reading.

4 For an elegant summary of the state of the question, see Geoffrey Parker, “Success and Failure During the First Century of the Reformation,” *Past and Present* 136 (1992): 43–82.

Romansch in the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> Each of the catechisms, Luther's and the Heidelberg in their first year of publication, were issued in multiple editions, a material effort to ensure their durability and use—to place them in hundreds of hands.

Wherever they might find themselves, those who had learned Canisius's catechism spoke a different Apostles' Creed from those who had learned Luther's or those who had learned the Genevan or Heidelberg Catechisms—differing cadences, differing segments of meaning, and with them, differing conceptualizations of the three persons of the Trinity. Wherever they might find themselves, those who had learned Canisius's or Luther's catechisms divided the Ten Commandments differently from those who had learned the Genevan or Heidelberg Catechisms—with all the consequences for visual culture. Wherever they might find themselves, for some, “coveting” was a sin consciously chosen, for others, inescapable human nature—the relation between person and things differently construed. Wherever they might find themselves, those who had learned Canisius's catechisms brought different connotations to “Father” and liturgical affiliations to “bread”, distinguishing them from those who had learned Luther's catechisms or the Genevan or Heidelberg Catechisms, for each of whom “bread” carried different valences.

In the sixteenth century, catechesis became inseparable from the codex, because the codex could “contain” in ways that no other medium could do—as Peter Canisius, Martin Luther, John Calvin, and the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism all recognized. Print fixed the words of prayer, creed, Commandment, and institution. Print fixed chains of meaning. Print offered a singular kind of material stability in a world of dispersed Churches, of persecuted minorities and exile communities. A number of catechisms sought as well to teach catechumens to see Creed, Lord's Prayer, Commandments, and words of institution, setting God's words in larger, bolder font, and to see them as discrete, separate, ‘texts’.

As the authors of the catechisms at center in this study all expressly recognized, the spatial logic of the codex also provided the material structure for the temporal sequence of catechesis: first these words, then these. Catechetical codices taught sequential reading: front to back, left to right, top to bottom. Authors of catechisms sought, with all the devices available to them, from prefaces to readers to numbering questions, to structure a temporal sequence of reading and of catechesis, which built, chapter after chapter, a Church of

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5 Karin Maag, “Early Editions and Translations of the Heidelberg Catechism,” in Lyle D. Bierma, ed., *An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History, and Theology* (Grand Rapids, 2005), 113–17.

specific knowledge. While the words inhabited the lives of Christians differently—the Lord’s Prayer was to be spoken every day, the Apostles’ Creed, perhaps less frequently—they were to be learned in a sequence that set them in specific relationships to one another. The catechumen of Luther’s catechisms began with that text that documented human sinfulness; the catechumen of Canisius’s catechism, with the Incarnation. The catechumen of the Genevan Catechism learned belief before law; the catechumen of the Heidelberg Catechism learned to pray following catechesis of the Ten Commandments. In these sequences were differing understandings of human nature, of the meaning of the Incarnation and its relationship to human sin, and of the working of divine love.

In printing them, black ink on paper, together in a single object, authors of catechisms abstracted prayer, creed, and Commandment from their variety of spoken experiences—in the liturgy, in preparation for confession. In seeking to fix the wording, they framed the texts.<sup>6</sup> No longer words spoken silently or chanted, among Evangelicals, the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer would still be spoken in worship, but they were to be learned as constant wording, constant syntax, constant breathing. They were learned, moreover, as visually the same—the same font, whether larger or the same size as the rest of the catechism, and the same spacing on pages of the same size were used for words that had been silent or chanted or sung or spoken.

In placing creed, prayer, and Commandments in a single locus, authors of sixteenth-century catechisms separated ancient words from their lives in late medieval Christianity. Their emphasis was on the words and “their meaning” as inhering in the words themselves, not the practices in which those words had been thought, spoken, chanted, sung. Indeed, Evangelicals silenced so many of those practices—the rosary and the Ave Maria, the chanting of the Credo—and separated the Lord’s Prayer from the liturgy of the Eucharist. Materially bound together, physically set in a specific temporal sequence and connection of meaning to one another, Commandment, creed and prayer became words an individual could recite anywhere, physically and temporally apart from the liturgy or any space of worship.

By way of closure, let me turn to the image at the beginning of this chapter (Fig. 149). It encapsulates beautifully the transformation this book has been tracing. There on the left, a woodcut presents Jesus preaching to two sixteenth-century women. On the right, the plane of the printed page presents the

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6 Werner Wolf, “Introduction: Frames, Framings and Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media,” in *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Werner Wolf and Walter Bernhart (Studies in Intermediality 1) (Amsterdam, 2006), 1–40.

seventh “petition” of the Lord’s Prayer and its printed textual explication. The left side renders a familiar image of Christ preaching, in a setting also familiar: outdoors, in a valley, with settlement in the distance. The women face Jesus’s person: the image evokes the sound of preaching. Behind Christ are two male figures, not apostles, but, like the women, in sixteenth-century dress, their faces perhaps familiar to those in Wittenberg who were the catechism’s first market.

As the placement of woodcut and text intimated, Jesus himself had taught the words of the Prayer. They were not simply ancient, but originated as sound taught to those who faced Christ. The explication of those words may well have occurred orally in the medieval Church. The person holding the tiny codex saw together the figure of Christ on the left, that image of oral catechesis, and, on the right, the words in ink on paper, in bold face larger font, Christ himself had taught, and, smaller font, Luther’s explication of those words, his materialized effort to fix their meaning not simply on the page, but in the mind of the person who held the codex and spoke the words. The person holding the codex ‘read’ the two pages left to right, Jesus’s speaking to Luther’s printed explication, a movement of the eyes and a movement in time, from Jesus’s preaching to Luther’s typographical explication.

Catechisms taught that for all Christians—Evangelical and Catholic alike—words were constitutive, not simply one component of Christianity, but that which a Christian “knew”, the knowledge that separated a true Christian from a false Christian. With words that became embodied, the “knowledge” essential to being a Christian became utterly and completely portable, even as it became personal in new ways. The codex in the hand was both instrument and locus, and as, over generations, its novelty wore off, it engendered new forms of religious practice, perhaps including that ‘literacy’ had to do with words, not images. Both the rise of cultures of Bible-reading and the decline in visions as a key mode of religious knowledge in western Christianity may, perhaps, be traceable to those tiny codices. But that lies beyond the scope of this study, this codex.





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// collatori facile constabit, elaboratus: // Ad sacrosanctæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ,  
eiusdemq[ue] Fidei, Pietatis, ac Religionis // Reparationem, Auctionem, &  
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Kindern vñ jungen // leutē zu sonderm nutz al=//so in schrift verfaßt. [Nuremberg:]  
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Brandenburg Und eins // Erbern Rats der Stat Nürnberg // Oberkeyt vnd gepieten  
/ Wie // man sich bayde mit der // Leer vnd Ceremo=//nien halten // solle.  
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/ Marg=//grauen zu Brandēburg / // und eins Ebarn Raths // der statt Nuernberg  
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